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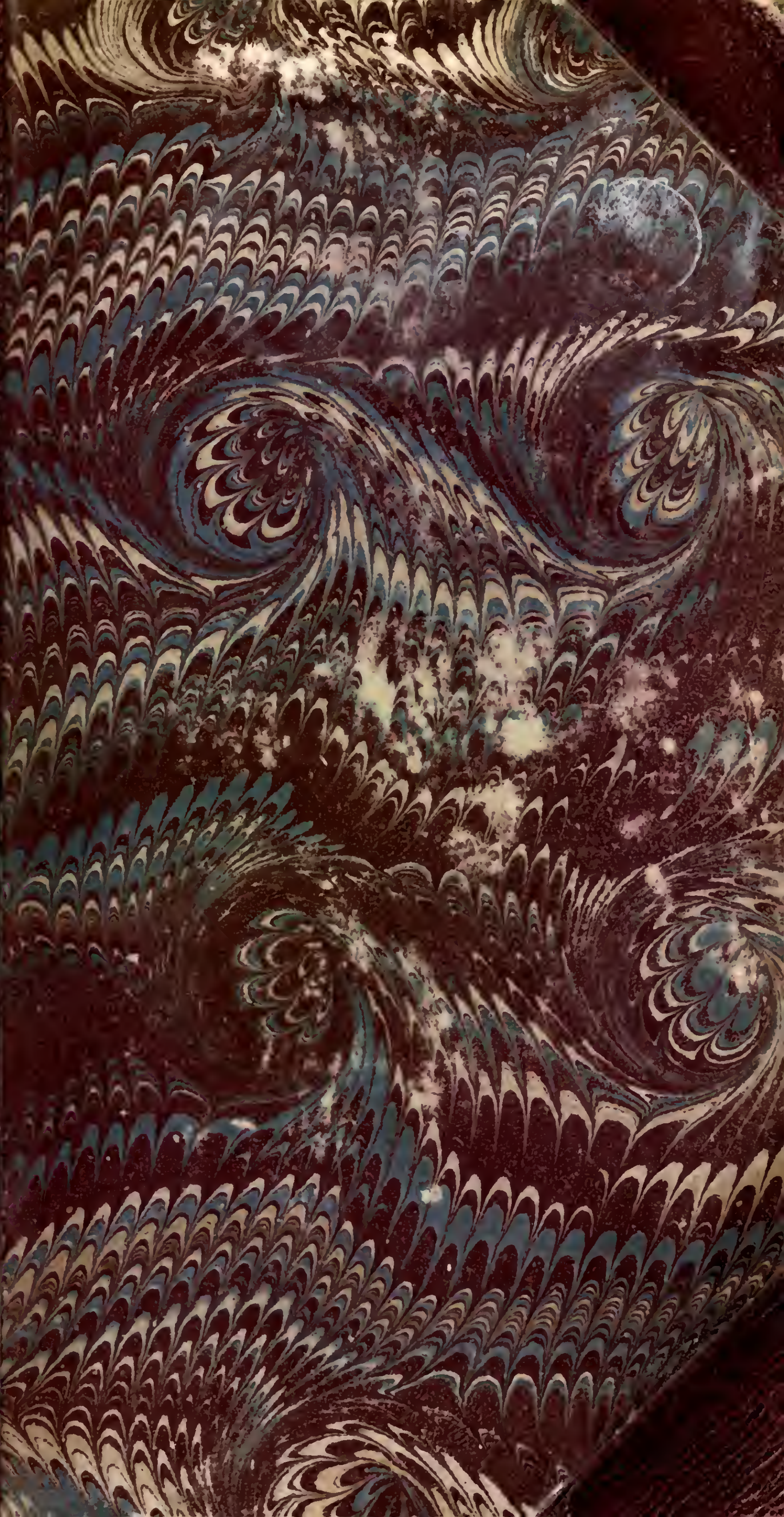

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

DANIEL DE FOE.

R. Page

Daniel DeFoe

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

DANIEL DE FOE:

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF HIS WRITINGS,

AND

HIS OPINIONS UPON A VARIETY OF IMPORTANT MATTERS, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

BY WALTER WILSON, Esq.
OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

When we have derived pleasure or improvement from the works of an author, curiosity becomes awakened to learn something of his history. In how many cases it is impossible to gratify this feeling, and the regret that is the consequence, are well known to those who are accustomed to literary inquiries. Such persons, also, can be the only judges of the time and labour that are consumed in recovering even those slender memorials that may have escaped the ravages of time.

De Foe has now slept with his fathers for nearly the period of a century. More than half of the time had elapsed before any attempt was made to embalm his worth; yet, during the whole period, the world had been amused and instructed by his writings, and there were few readers, from the humble to the higher stations of life, who had not connected his name with their early recollections. Perhaps there is scarcely any English author who wrote "so variously and so well," of whom so little is popularly known; and the attempts that have been hitherto made to supply the deficiency are of that meagre description, as to afford but few materials for attaining to a just knowledge of his character. In these too, owing to the lapse of time and other circumstances, some mistakes have been unavoidedly committed, which for the sake of accuracy it is now desirable to correct.

Those who are acquainted with the narratives of De Foe, must be satisfied that no one could be so competent to become his own biographer, as the ingenious author of *Robinson Crusoe*. His accurate painting from nature, his skill in the delineation of character, and the interest which he contrives to throw over the commonest incidents, all combine to enchant the reader, and to inspire a wish that so masterly a pen had been employed in telling his own story to posterity. This was in a measure demanded by the eventful nature of his life, and the misrepresentations which he suffered from his political opponents; nor is the regret diminished when we consider the multiplicity of his writings, which being mostly anonymous, are now in some measure difficult to be identified.

In the absence of his own pen, a biography of De Foe, from the hands of a contemporary, conversant with his history, and competent to appreciate his character, would have been a rich addition to our literature. But he probably out-lived all his friends, and neglected to preserve the requisite materials for such a work. Although any substitute at this distance of time cannot be otherwise than imperfect, yet a careful perusal of his various works, in connexion with what has been said of him by his friends and his enemies, will furnish no inconsiderable memorial of his fame, and may serve to recal the attention of the public to his writings.

His present biographer would probably have shrunk from the undertaking, had not his path been previously smoothed by the labours of Mr. Chalmers and Dr. Towers. The narrative of the former, extending to seventy octavo pages, as it was the first attempt to do justice to De Foe, so it is the source from whence succeeding writers have drawn their materials. Some important facts connected with his history would probably have been lost, had it not been for the timely discoveries of Mr. Chalmers; the admirers of De Foe are therefore under considerable obligations to that gentleman, for the zeal and perseverance which enabled him to produce such successful results.

But valuable as are the materials of Mr. Chalmers, they are much too scanty to satisfy the admirers of De Foe, or to assist them in doing justice to his merits as a man, or as a writer. His services being of a public nature, led him into a wide field of controversy, the occasions of which can only be properly understood by a reference to connecting circumstances. Nor can we form a just estimate of his character without listening to the motives, which he has himself assigned for his conduct. Such inquiries, if they lead to greater detail, present us with a more extended portrait of the individual; and furnish the truest criterion of his actions. The researches of the present writer have enabled him not only to correct some errors that have crept into the former accounts of De Foe, but also to bring to light some new facts; and he has considerably extended the catalogue of his writings.

De Foe is now known almost entirely as a writer of fiction, and this will probably constitute the basis of his fame in succeeding times. Yet, it was not until he was verging towards the age of threescore, that he employed his creative powers upon those delightful works that will continue to be admired as long as there is any taste for real genius.

But it was for politics chiefly that he acquired distinction with his contemporaries, who bore witness to the influence of his writings. In the conflict of parties from the reign of Charles II. to the accession of George I., few persons took a more active share; and in the number of his publications, he probably outstripped all the other writers of his time. During ten of his busiest years, and those the most factious in English history, he was the sole writer of a periodical paper which appeared three times a week, and contained many elaborate essays upon the most important subjects in trade and politics. These, and his other labours in the cause of liberty, civil and religious, entitle him to more distinguished notice than he has hitherto received; it is therefore to this part of his history and character that his present biographer has principally directed his attention. If he has been led further into the discussion of politics than may seem properly to fall within the province of biography, it must be remembered that De Foe passed the prime and vigour of his life in active employment, sometimes in the service of the state, and always occupied upon subjects in which the public took a warm interest. Upon these accounts, the history of his life is very much interwoven with the events of the times. It must be recollected, also, that many of the topics upon which he employed his pen, are of vital importance to the interests of the community, extending even to the foundations of government, and the principles that regulate the intercourse of society. If their purpose was temporary, their utility is far from having ceased with the occasion: for without insisting, that it is never unseasonable to recal the attention of mankind to such subjects, it may be observed, that no man who sits down to study the history of his country with minute exactness, can hope for satisfaction upon a variety of points, without a previous acquaintance with the writings of De Foe. Upon this account, an uniform edition of his works is still a desideratum in British literature.

In elucidating the history of the times, the present writer has availed himself of the assistance of De Foe, as far as practicable. When this authority fails, the narrative has been connected from other sources, and chiefly from the writings of his contemporaries. In the quotations from De Foe, his sentiments have been delivered faithfully, and in his own words, without any other liberty than the abbreviation of a sentence, and the occasional substitution of a word, for the purpose of rendering the passage more intelligible. As the biographer of De Foe, rather than his apologist, the writer does not hold himself responsible for the accuracy of his opinions nor for the propriety of his conduct, any further than they will admit of a just defence. In many of his opinions, political and ecclesiastical, he freely avows a congeniality of thinking; but he has no desire to prejudice the reader by giving them more effect than is warranted by the facts and reasonings brought forward in the work.

Dryden, in his life of Lucian, observes, that biographical writing is at all times the most difficult task for an historian; and it may be added, that it is increasingly so when the times of which he writes are distinguished by faction. The characters of men then become distorted by prejudice, and the page of history presents a tissue of misrepresentation and falsehood. It was the misfortune of De Foe to flourish at a period when every thing was viewed through the false light of party.

Religion and politics being the occasions of strife, the passions of men were heated in a degree commensurate with their importance; and it had a serious influence upon the representation of character. If we are to credit the reports of party-writers, the virtues and vices that belong indifferently to the whole of the species, are entailed upon distinct classes of men, according to a particular rule of favoritism which they have established amongst themselves. This was precisely the case in the days of De Foe, when Whig and Tory became the watch-words of party; and in their application to morals, were the only symbols of right and wrong. In the contests between high and low church, the disposition to moderation seemed nearly lost; and if ever it raised its head, was branded for lukewarmness. The orthodoxy of the day, was no better than slavery both in church and state; and to advocate the principles of the Revolution, was to be a Presbyterian and a Republican—names that were appropriated to some of the best friends of the constitution.

The dissensions that prevailed at former periods have been mixed up so much with ecclesiastical subjects, that it is impossible to understand our history correctly, without some acquaintance with the controversies of the times. Although these are no longer interesting to the majority of persons, who read rather for amusement than for information; yet the importance of this knowledge, in order to a right understanding of things, and to estimate accurately the contradictory reports of our historians, cannot be doubted.

The bad use that has been made of religion by designing men, has had the most unhappy effect upon the nation. In the hands of crafty politicians, it has been an engine for misleading the ignorant and the servile, who have been made the tools of faction for the basest purposes. The disgraceful doings, in the name of the Church, that disfigured the reigns of the Stuarts, and had the double purpose of advancing the prerogative, and enslaving the conscience, were but a continuation of those schemes of power that were devised for the slavery of mankind before the Reformation. Although by that event, the Pope lost his supremacy in England, yet the policy that governed religious matters continued nearly the same; and the ecclesiastical orders being numerous, it became the policy of statesmen to convert them into efficient instruments for their own designs. This diversion of the clergy from spiritual objects, imparted to the Church a secular character; and it was further promoted by the ecclesiastical courts, which were for a long time the terror of the people.

Thus, the history of the Church, instead of being a record of piety, presents a sad picture of the squabbles of men for ritual observances; and is fruitful in the contentions of rival sects for the establishment of a dominion upon the ruins of each other. In support of the extravagant monopoly, the successful party never scrupled to call in the aid of the sword, vainly pretending to settle ecclesiastical questions by civil pains and penalties. Although precedents drawn from unenlightened times had sanctioned this policy, yet the folly of it was fully emblazoned in its futility. To the uninitiated in these mysteries, it may seem strange that so much blood should have been shed by Christians in behalf of rites and ceremonies, which most of them have acknowledged to be of human invention; but when it is known that they have been the passport to ambition and worldly aggrandizement, the secret is disclosed. In the pursuit of these, it has been found convenient to let loose the bad passions of bigots and fanatics, who, like so many destroying angels, have spread desolation in their progress, and blighted the fairest parts of the creation. It is thus that religion, divested of its moral qualities, has been converted into a temporal kingdom, as foreign to the genius of the system, as to the peace of society; and to support the anomaly, it has acted upon the public like a sword to slay the body, rather than as a medicine to heal the soul.

Since the days of De Foe, much light has been diffused over the public mind upon these subjects, and legislation has profited by the circumstance. The rubbish accumulated during the dark ages, and long fostered with reverence, has lost much of the sanctity with which superstition had clothed it. Time has discovered that men possess rights, as members of the state, which cannot be subverted by speculative opinions; and tardy justice has been offered to the principle, by a partial overthrow of the usurpation. Errors of long growth, especially when they become identified with the institutions and habits of a people, are necessarily slow in their removal; but this circumstance is favourable to the permanency of the truths that supplant them. Whilst education is in progress, the truths that pertain to the principles of society will be in a state of developement, and it will be found expedient to recur to them as the basis of government. In the career of improvement, the machinery that encircles religion must be expected to participate, and its utility promoted, by divesting it of its political connections; for reason teaches, that those objects are only to be obtained by leaving open the mode of its profession to the judgment of mankind, unfettered by political restraints, or the allurement of temporal benefits (*a*).

Upon subjects that involve a contrariety of opinions, we are not to look for an uniformity of assent to the conclusions of any writer; and he shews but an imperfect acquaintance with human nature who exacts it. A liability to error is so much a condition

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(*a*) The reader will bear in mind, that the whole of the present work was composed before the late repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; and written under the influence of the state of things as they previously existed.

of our being, as to enforce the necessity of mutual forbearance, and of the utmost candour in our interpretation of character. Absolute impartiality, indeed, is scarcely to be looked for in imperfect beings; yet it is a quality so essential to an historian, that if he does not make it his landmark, he forfeits his reputation for honesty. Considering the diversity of opinions that has prevailed in this country upon the subjects of religion and government, and the importance attached to them, it is not surprising that opposite conclusions should have been drawn from the same facts, nor that the characters of men should have been viewed through the medium of strong prejudice. These obstacles in the way of truth are only to be surmounted by analysing the motives of men, which are often more legible than they imagine, and by bringing their professions to that test by which all opinions must be tried. But differences may exist with an expansion of feeling unknown to little minds, and unincumbered by those sordid motives that strike at the root of virtuous principle. There is a common bond, which unites good men of all parties, when they possess sufficient magnanimity to obey its influence. For, whatever varieties are produced in the mind, there is no discord in charity; and he alone forfeits his reputation for fairness, who misrepresents facts and distorts opinions for the purpose of rendering them subservient to the cause or party to which he is attached.

To correctness of thinking, and impartiality of writing, the author of these volumes lays no greater claim than other men; but he can honestly say, that he has no other motive than the discovery of truth, and is under no temptation to disguise or pervert it, in compliment to any of the parties that have dealt so unfairly by each other. Whilst upon subjects of importance he does not profess to write with a cold indifferency, he would be unjust to his readers if he did not invite their confidence by challenging the strictest investigation of all his statements. His authorities are before the public; and in the present age of information, it would be the extreme of folly to attempt an imposition upon the reader, either by a mis-statement of facts, or a perversion of their legitimate meaning. Liable, as we all are, to mistake, and controlled by unavoidable prepossessions, he may have been sometimes misled by imperfect information, or conflicting testimony; but he has never consciously deviated from that strict fidelity which is essential to secure confidence. If he has at any time invaded the adage, *De Mortuis nil nisi bonum*, it is because he has a greater reverence for truth than for flattery; and can discover no good reason why unprincipled men should be sheltered from the opprobium which they have entailed upon their actions.

As an enemy to persecution in every shape, he has freely declared himself against it, and has, with the same freedom, characterised its agents, of whatever religion. If he has handled them with more severity than has seemed good to some other writers, he conceives that he is fully borne out by a just estimate of their conduct. Political priests are no credit to religion, and commonly abuse their power for the oppression of adverse sects. When this is the case, they become the enemies of mankind, and may be treated accordingly. Good men cannot vindicate them; for it requires a sympathy with them in their evil deeds, which is abhorrent to real goodness. With the controversies of the time, the author has studiously avoided mixing himself up as a party, having to do with men's actions rather than with their opinions; and he is the more desirous that this should be understood, lest any hasty conclusions should be drawn to the contrary. He who supposes that what he has said of persecutors, is levelled at the clergy generally, must not only possess a small degree of discernment, but will do him a great deal of injustice. To the more tolerant of the order, who have been the best friends of the Church, as well as the most efficient promoters of genuine religion, he has not been backward in doing honour; and he would be unjust to a body of men, amongst whom he has the pleasure to enumerate some of his most valued friends, if he did not testify that respect for them to which they are entitled by their merits.

A biographer of De Foe would have but little sympathy for his subject, if he were not a cordial friend to civil and religious liberty; and the present writer avows himself so in the largest sense that is consistent with the safety of government and the peace of society. Further than this, whatever opinions he may have formed upon minor questions of a civil, or an ecclesiastical nature, he has no hostility towards any man, or party of men, that can induce him to advance any thing to their prejudice beyond what may be fairly drawn from their actions. These are open to praise or blame according to their tendency, as are the tenets that influence them; and when found at variance with the welfare of the species, may be justly censured without any sacrifice of good feeling, or a departure from the strict line of impartiality. The frailty of man is but too legibly written upon the pages of our history. Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters, have each in their turn been guilty of excesses which the wisest men of each party must condemn; and whilst the exhibition of these excesses holds out an instructive lesson to society, it is not to be converted to the prejudice of those who renounce them. Happily, the men of all parties have learnt wisdom by experience; and whilst they adhere to their respective names, have discarded the follies with which they were associated. The history of the world abundantly proves that men are often much better than the cause they espouse; indiscriminate praise or censure, therefore, is in the true spirit of party, and betokens an absence of good feeling no less than of common sense.

The object of the present performance is so well expressed by De Foe in the following passage, that no apology is necessary for its production. "I think," says he, "the best and indeed the only service that can be done by authors and writers that pass judgment upon public affairs, is to set them in a true light, and to give mankind a clear view of them without partiality, passion, or prejudice. So far as any of us deviate from this rule, so far we break in upon our proper business, and do harm rather than good. I shall say no more of myself than this: That it really is my desire and whole design to do this in these papers, and in every thing I write; and I am perfectly disinterested on either side, after all that clamour and raillery have suggested. As I get nothing of them, nor ask any thing from them, I think myself the freer and the better qualified to speak impartially, having nothing to fear or hope from any person or party under heaven."*

It was the author's original intention, to have incorporated in his work some biographical notices of De Foe's literary antagonists, concerning some of whom, but little is commonly known;

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* Review, v. 231.

but the primary matter having already extended to a greater length than he had contemplated, and indeed considerably beyond what is now presented to the public, he is compelled to abandon this part of his design, and may perhaps, offer it as a companion to the work in a separate publication. His collections concerning Oldmixon, Tutchin, and Ridpath, are the most considerable; but he has notices of many others, which altogether are sufficient to form a volume. Whether they will ever see the light, will depend partly upon the reception that may be given to the present work, and partly upon the measure of health that may be afforded him to prepare his materials for the press.

In recording my obligations to those individuals from whom I have received assistance in this undertaking, I must pay my respects in the first place to the late George Chalmers, Esq.; as well for some private communications, as for the loan of eight volumes of the *Review*, of which, as the reader will perceive, I have made ample use. Indeed, without this work, it would have been impossible to do any thing like justice to the subject. To Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution, I am obliged for a sight of his large collection of autographs, containing an original letter by De Foe, and some other documents relating to his family, which he most liberally allowed me to copy. To Mr. Stace, who was preparing for publication an arranged catalogue of De Foe's works, but which he has kindly abandoned in my favour; I am indebted for a knowledge of several of De Foe's pieces, with which I was not previously acquainted(*b*). The Rev. Henry De Foe Baker, and his intelligent lady, Mrs. Harriet Baker, will here accept my acknowledgments for some important communications that have greatly enriched the work, and particularly for a most interesting letter penned by De Foe a little before his death. For my information relative to the descendants of De Foe, in addition to what is to be found in print, I am indebted principally to his great-grandson Mr. James De Foe; and to William Ward Wright, Esq., of Sopley, Hants, who was a school-fellow with one of the family. To the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, and various other persons who will excuse being particularised, I have to express my thanks for the loan of books relative to my design; as I have to Joshua Wilson, Esq., of Highbury Place, for the free use of his valuable library. My obligations are also due to the late Mr. Isaac James, and Mr. Joseph Whittuck, both of Bristol; to my early friend, Charles Lamb, Esq., of Enfield, and to Mr. Thomas Williams,

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(*b*) Mr. Stace has probably one of the largest collections of De Foe's works that is to be found in the kingdom. It consists altogether of more than a hundred pieces, and I understand is now offered for sale.

Mr. William Godwin, and Mr. William Hone, of London, for various communications, and for the liberality with which they have tendered their assistance.

And now, in conclusion, I have only to remark, that in associating my name with that of De Foe, I shall account myself happy if I have at all succeeded in doing justice to his fair fame, and in recovering the memory of those public services which entitle him to be enrolled amongst the patriots and benefactors of his country.

> "Yes, I am not ashamed of thus confessing
> The debt my early childhood seems to owe;
> And if I had the power to invoke a blessing
> On them who first excited rapture's glow,
> 'Twould fall on Barbauld, Berquin, Bunyan, Day, De Foe!
> Their works were dear to me before I knew,
> Or cared to know, if they were owned by fame;
> And after all that life has led me through,
> Of pain and pleasure, they are still the same.
> Whene'er I meet them, they appear to claim
> Familiar greeting not to be denied:
> Nor should it: for so complex is the frame
> On which the mind's whole store is edified,
> 'Twere hard for me to tell what they have not supplied."
>
> BERNARD BARTON.

CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

WRITINGS OF DE FOE.

INTRODUCTION.

The following arranged Catalogue of De Foe's Works, will be found much more perfect than any that has been hitherto offered to the public; yet the Compiler is far from imagining it to be complete. As De Foe affixed his name to but few of his publications, there can be little doubt that some of them have passed into oblivion; whilst those that have been detected are sufficiently numerous to class him amongst the most laborious writers of his age. The means of identifying them, besides the uncertain light of tradition, must now be sought for, either in their internal evidence, or from allusions to them, either in his own writings, or in those of his contemporaries. These have been ransacked, to no inconsiderable extent, by the present writer, and the result will be found in the ensuing pages. Even the bare titles of his works are in themselves a literary curiosity, and will serve, in a degree, to illustrate the peculiar bent of the writer's genius. Some of the articles included in the list, appear there, perhaps, with doubtful propriety; and have been inserted rather in deference to common opinion, than from a conviction of their genuineness. These are marked *doubtful;* and the collectors of De Foe may reject them or not from their collections, at their own option. Many of his pieces, particularly the small tracts, are now extremely scarce, and therefore are not to be procured without great difficulty. It has been only after much labour and expence, and the lapse of many years, that the writer of the present work has succeeded in accumulating a large proportion of those enumerated in the following catalogue.

CATALOGUE

OF

DE FOE'S WORKS.

1. *SPECULUM CRAPE-GOWNORUM;* or a Looking-glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd. With Reflections on some of the late high-flown Sermons: to which is added, An Essay towards a Sermon of the newest Fashion. By a Guide to the Inferiour Clergie. *Ridentem dicere Verum Quis Vetat?* London: printed for E. Rydal. 1682. 4to.
2. *Speculum Crape-Gownorum.* Part II. 4to. 1682.
3. A Treatise against the Turks. London. 1683. 4to.
4. A Pamphlet against the Addresses to King James. London. 1687. 4to.
5. A Tract upon the Dispensing Power. London. 1687. 4to.
6. A Voyage to the World of Cartesius. Written originally in French. Translated into English, by T. Taylor. London: printed for Thomas Bennet. 1692. 8vo. *Doubtful.*
7. An Essay upon Projects. London. Thomas Cockerell. 1697. 8vo.
8. An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in cases of Preferment: with a Preface to the Lord Mayor, occasioned by his carrying the sword to a conventicle. London. 1697. 4to.
9. Some Reflections on a Pamphlet lately Published, entitled, An Argument shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with A Free Government, and absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. London. E. Whitlock. 1697. 4to.

10. An Argument shewing that a Standing Army with Consent of Parliament, is not Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c. London. E. Whitlock. 1698. 4to.

11. The Poor Man's Plea, in relation to all the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c., which have been, or shall be made, or published, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the nation. London. 1698. 4to.

12. Elegy upon the Death of Dr. Annesley. 1697. Folio.

13. The Two Great Questions Consider'd. I. What the French King will do with respect to the Spanish Monarchy? II. What Measures the English ought to Take? London. A. Baldwin. 1700. 4to.

14. The Two Great Questions Further Considered. With some Reply to the Remarks. *Non licet hominem Muliebriter Rixare.* London. 1700. 4to.

15. The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe. London. 1700. 4to.

16. The Pacificator. A Poem. London. J. Nutt. 1700. Folio.

17. Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. London. 1701. 4to.

18. The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. London. 1701. 4to.

19. The Villany of Stock-Jobbers Detected, and the cause of the late Run on the Bank and Bankers Discovered and Considered. London. 1701. 4to.

20. The True-Born Englishman. A Satyr. 1701. 4to.

21. The Succession to the Crown of England Considered. London. 1701. 4to.

22. Legion's Address to the Commons. 1701.

23. History of the Kentish Petition. London. 1701. 4to.

24. The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted: with a double Dedication to the King and to the Parliament. London. 1701. Folio.

25. The Present State of Jacobitism Considered, in Two Queries:—I. What Measures the French King will take with respect to the Person and Title of the P.P. of Wales? II. What the Jacobites in England ought to do on the same Account? London. 1701. 4to.

26. Reasons Against a War with France; or an Argument, shewing that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is no Sufficient Ground for a War. London. 1701. 4to.

27. An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment. With a Preface to Mr. How. London. 1701. 4to.
28. A Letter to Mr. Howe, by way of Reply to his Considerations of the Preface to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters. London. 1701. 4to.
29. Legion's New Paper: being a Second Memorial to the Gentlemen of a late House of Commons. With Legion's Humble Address to his Majesty. London. 1702. 4to.
30. The Mock Mourners. A Satyr by way of Elegy on King William. By the Author of the True-Born Englishman. London. 1702. 4to.
31. The Spanish Descent. A Poem. London. 1702. 4to.
32. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; or Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty Compared. 1702. 4to.
33. An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, Shewing that the Dissenters are no ways Concerned in it. London. 1702. 4to.
34. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. London. 1702. 4to.
35. A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, intitled, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters. London. 1702. 4to.
36. Reformation of Manners. A Satyr. 1702. 4to.
37. More Reformation. A Satyr upon Himself. By the Author of the True-Born Englishman. London. 1703. 4to.
38. The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. By the Author of the Shortest Way with the Dissenters. London. 1703. 4to.
39. A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman. Corrected by himself. London. 1703. 4to.
40. A Hymn to the Pillory. London. 1703. 4to.
41. King William's Affection to the Church of England Examined. London. 1703. 4to.
42. The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated from the Scandal of Occasional Conformity. With some Considerations on a late Book, intitled, Moderation, a Virtue. London. 1703. 4to.
43. A Challenge of Peace, Addressed to the whole Nation. With an Enquiry into the Ways and Means of bringing it to pass. London. 1703. 4to.
44. Peace without Union. By way of Reply to Sir H—— M——'s Peace at Home. London. 1703. 4to.
45. The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland Truly Stated. London. 1703. 4to.
46. The Parallel; or Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland. London. 1704. 4to.

47. An Ode to the Athenian Society. In the Athenian Oracle. London. 1704. 8vo.

48. Original Right; or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People. Being an Answer to the first Chapter in Dr. Davenant's Essays, entitled, Peace at Home and War Abroad. London. 1704. 4to.

49. The Dissenters' Answer to the High-Church Challenge. London. 1704. 4to.

50. The Christianity of the High-Church Considered. London. 1704. 4to.

51. Royal Religion, being some Enquiry after the Piety of Princes, with Remarks on a Book, intitled, A Form of Prayers used by King William. London. 1704. 4to.

52. An Essay upon the Regulation of the Press. London. 1704. 4to.

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ERRATA.

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Page 19, Reference, for *Shewer*, read *Shower*.

—— 29, Ditto, for *Shaver*, read *Shower*.

—— 186, line 6, for *was*, read *is*.

—— 247, — 11, for *Gallicus* read *Gallienus*.

ADDITIONAL NOTICE

CONCERNING DE FOE'S DESCENDANTS.

SINCE the work was printed, some further particulars have reached the Author, which will serve to correct a passage in Vol. III., page 647, and to convey some additional information respecting De Foe's descendants. It now appears, that Mrs. Hyett there referred to, has no title to be enrolled in the family either of the De Foes or the Bakers. She was a natural child of Paterson, the auctioneer. Henry Baker, jun. left but one child, the late Rev. William Baker, who inherited his grandfather's fortune. Losing his father when young, he was committed to the care of a guardian, who educated him for his own profession, which was that of a barrister; and he kept his terms in the Inner Temple. But, as soon as he became his own master, he quitted the law, and entered the church, for which, it is said, he was peculiarly fitted, "as an able man of business, and an useful servant of the public." His acquirements were varied and extensive, and he procured the esteem of his neighbours by his many excellencies and virtues. Besides the Rev. Henry De Foe Baker, he left a second son, William, a physician at Derby, who married Christiana, daughter of P. Bernard, Esq., of Southampton; and a daughter, Mary, now single. The following inscription upon his grave-stone, is worth preservation as an historical record of the family:—

"This Stone marks the Grave
Of WILLIAM BAKER,
Who closed a Life of
Extensive Usefulness
And a Ministry of
Nearly Forty Years,
At the age of 64,
A. D. 1828."

CHAPTER I.

De Foe's Commendation of Biography.—Its Object the Study of Man.—Remarks of Lord Bolingbroke.—De Foe famous in his Generation.—His Country and Extraction.—Origin of his Name.—Conjecture upon its Etymology.—Remarks upon his Descent.—Account of his Grandfather Daniel.—And his Father James Foe.—His Collateral Relations.—Birth of De Foe.—Belongs to Dr. Annesley's Congregation.—Early Exhibition of his Character.—Anecdote of him when a Boy.—Importance of early Principles.—He is educated amongst the Dissenters.—Religion of a Nonconformist.—His Account of the Rise of the Puritans.—And the Reasons they assigned for their Practice.

1661—1675.

AMONGST the various methods that have been devised for the instruction of mankind, experience has allotted an important station to history. But, as De Foe observes, "Of all the writings delivered to the world in an historical manner, none certainly were ever held in greater esteem than those which give us the lives of distinguished men at full length, and as I may say, to the life. Such curious fragments of biography are the rarities which great men seek after with eager industry, and when found, prize as the chief ornaments that enrich their libraries: and deservedly; for they are the beauties of the greatest men's lives handed down by way of example or instruction to posterity, and commonly handed down likewise by the greatest men. Since, therefore, persons distinguished for merit in one kind or other are the constant subjects of such discourses, and have employed the ablest pens; and since persons of the most refined and delicate relish are curious enough to be the readers of them, it is a wonder to me that when a man's life has something in it peculiarly great and remarkable, it should not move some skilful writer to give the public a taste of it, because it must be at least entertaining, if it be not, which is next to impossible, instructive and profitable."*

That the lives of eminent men, when faithfully written, possess all the attractions assigned to them by De Foe, we have the concurrent testimony of writers in all ages, and justified by the approbation with which they have been received by the public. Of their utility, it may be observed, that some of the greatest characters both in ancient and modern times, have been formed from models committed to writing; and the relation of a trifling incident has sometimes called forth those latent energies which have issued in splendid actions. When Zeno consulted the oracle, In what manner he should live? The answer was, "That he should inquire of the dead." These teach us by their actions no less than by their writings, and the lessons they inculcate when applied to the purposes of life, furnish the philosophy of history. Examples of this application have been furnished by Plutarch amongst the ancients, and Johnson amongst the moderns, from whom we may learn, that the study of man possesses higher objects than mere amusement. "Nature," says Lord Bolingbroke, "gave us curiosity to excite the industry of our minds, but she never intended it should be the principal, much less the sole object of their application. The true and proper object of this application, is a constant improvement in private and in public virtue. An application to any study that tends neither directly nor indirectly to make us better men and better citizens, is at best but a specious and ingenious sort of idleness, to use an expression of Tillotson's; and the knowledge we acquire by it is a creditable kind of ignorance—nothing more."†

The following narrative of "a writer, famous in his generation for politics and poetry, especially the former,"* and to whom Johnson allows "considerable merit," as an author who had "written so variously and so well,"† may be introduced with propriety by a remark of his own upon another occasion: "If ever the life of any man was remarkable, this which I am going to treat upon is so to a very eminent degree. It affords such a variety of incidents, and is accompanied with such diversity of circumstances, that it includes within it what must yield entire satisfaction to the most learned, and admiration to persons of a moderate understanding."‡

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* Life of Duncan Campbell.

† Letters on the Study of History, i. 14.

Although but little is known concerning the parentage of De Foe, who, so far as celebrity is concerned, may be considered as the first and last of his family; yet even upon so obscure a subject, it is natural that some degree of curiosity should be awakened. If it could be gratified, however, to any extent, but little interest would attach to a bare recital of names and dates, which are the common properties of every pedigree; and his family does not appear to have been of sufficient consequence for the acquisition even of this knowledge. Until of late years, indeed, it remained doubtful in what town or county he was born, and even whether he was an Englishman or a foreigner. This difficulty was farther increased by the foreign prefix to his name, which it now appears was of his own adoption. A Tory writer, who published a lampoon upon him in the reign of Queen Anne, under the title of "The True-born Hugonot; or Daniel De Foe, a Satyr," supposes him to have been of French extraction, and to have come into England with the persecuted Protestants, or as this author would term them, the rebellious subjects of Louis XIV. He speaks thus:—

> Out of this rebel herd our rebel sprung,
> And brought the virtues of the soil along,

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* Biog. Brit. Art. Arbuthnot, 1st. ed. † Boswell's Life of Johnson, iii. 286.

‡ Life of Duncan Campbell, p. 3.

A mild behaviour and a fluent tongue;
With uplift eyes, and with ambitious heart,
On England's theatre to act his part.

The name of Foe is said to be of Norman origin; and for centuries there was a family of that name seated in Warwickshire. This we learn from De Foe himself, who, speaking of the ancient castle of Warwick, says, "Here we saw the ancient cell or hermitage, where they say, the famous Guy Earl of Warwick ended his days in a private retreat for his devotions, and is from him called Guy-Clift, by others Gib-clift. 'Tis now, as Mr. Camden gives an account, which Mr. Dugdale also confirms, the pleasant seat of an ancient Norman family of the name of De Beau-Foe, whose posterity remain there, and in several other parts of the county, retaining the latter part of their sirname, but without the former, to this day. Mr. Dugdale gives the monuments of them; and it appears they removed hither, on account of some marriage, from Seyton in Rutlandshire, where they were lords of the manor, and patrons of the church, and where several of the name also still remain."* (A)

Whether De Foe was entitled to claim a remote affinity to this family is uncertain; but his immediate ancestors moved in a more humble sphere, and possessing only a slender patrimony, followed the pursuits of trade. But, as Sprat remarks of his friend Cowley, "what he wanted in titles of honour, and the gifts of fortune, was plentifully supplied by many other excellencies, which make, perhaps, less noise, but are more beneficial for example." It is an advantage almost peculiar to the state of society in this country, and arising out of its political institutions, that there is ample scope for the exertion of talent and enterprize in the most humble individuals. The haughty but ill-treated Wolsey, and the more amiable but unfortunate Cromwell, the one the son of a butcher, and the other of a blacksmith, arose by dint of talent to the highest offices in church and state; and similar instances might be gleaned from the history of our own times. In the walks of literature, we have seen some of its brightest ornaments emerging from obscurity, and rising to distinction in spite of all the disadvantages of birth and education. If De Foe could not boast of exalted parentage, he possessed the inheritance of a virtuous example, which, combined with a good education, had an important influence upon his future character; and if he never attained to dignity nor opulence, yet his talents procured him political importance, and caused him to occupy a respectable station in the republic of letters. No person who possesses any claim to good sense, will undervalue the advantages of station because he does not happen to possess them; but at the same time he will agree with our author in giving the precedency to character:

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* Tour through Great Britain. II. 129. Letter III.

(A) If it be lawful to hazard a conjecture upon so uncertain a subject as the etymology of names, it has occurred to the writer whether *De Beau-Foe* should not be written De Beau-Foy, and whether it was not originally bestowed upon the family for some signal act of fidelity from a vassal towards his superior lord: should this derivation be right, the awkward name of our author will be converted into the more agreeable one of Foi, or, according to its ancient spelling, Foy, which is a name still in use, both in this country and upon the continent. From the same source, there can be little doubt, is derived the sir-name of Beaufoy. That there is some ground for the conjecture may be readily imagined from its affinity to other names, which may be easily traced to some peculiar circumstance in the early history of the family; such as Beauclerc, Beaufort, Beaumont, Beaudesert, Beauchamps, Beauchateau, Beaulieu, Beaumarchais, Beausobre, and others that might be mentioned.

> "Honour by virtue only is upheld,
> And vain are all the trophies vice can build;
> For, though by wicked arts men gain applause,
> The reputation's rotten, like the cause:
> Vain too 's the single honour of descent,
> Till merit's added as a supplement.
> But when to virtue grace infus'd is giv'n,
> The sacred incense reaches up to heaven;

No force nor fraud can such a fame remove,
It pleases men below, and God above."*

The earliest of our author's ancestors, of whom there is any mention, was his grandfather, **Daniel Foe**, a substantial English yeoman, who farmed his own estate at Elton, in Northamptonshire. He was, I believe, of the royal party, and addicted to the sports of the field, an amusement not encouraged by the graver sort of puritans, but occasionally indulged in by his grandson. For the diversion of himself and his friends, he maintained a pack of hounds, from whence it may be inferred that he moved in a respectable station of life. The fact is mentioned by De Foe himself, with a remarkable circumstance annexed to it. Having occasion to notice the absurd custom of bestowing names that were the result of party animosity upon the brute creation, a practice common in his time, he says, " I remember my grandfather had a huntsman, that used the same familiarity with his dogs, and he had his Round-head, and his Cavalier, his Goring, and his Waller, and all the generals of both armies were hounds in his pack; till the times turning, the old gentleman was fain to scatter the pack, and make them up of more dog-like sirnames."† As De Foe is known to have possessed property in land, there can be little doubt that he inherited it from this relation. (B)

Our author's father, **James Foe**, was most probably a younger son of the foregoing; and having his own industry chiefly to depend upon, was sent to London at a proper age, and placed as an apprentice with John Levit, citizen and butcher. This trade he afterwards followed upon his own account, in the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, but retired from the cares of business, upon a decent competency, several years before his death. He was living at an advanced age in 1705, when he signed the following testimonial to the character of a servant who had formerly lived with him:—"Sarah Pierce lived with us, about fifteen or sixteen years since, about two years; and behaved herself so well, that we recommended her to Mr. Cave, that godly minister,* which we should not have done, had not her conversation been becoming the gospel. From my lodgings, at the Bell, in Broad Street, having lately left my house in Throgmorton Street, October 10, 1705. Witness my hand, JAMES FOE."(c) The good old man did not survive very long after this; for in the *Review* for September 23, 1708, De Foe alludes to him as his "late father,"

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* Collection of his Writings, I. 114.

† Review, vii. Pref.

(B) " I have both a native, and an acquired right of election," says he, " in more than one place in Britain, and as such am a part of the body that honourable House (the Commons of Britain), represents: and from hence, I believe, may claim a right in due manner, to represent, complain, address, or petition them.—*Review*, vi. 477.

These are all the particulars that can be collected of our author's immediate ancestors. He had some collateral relations, to whom he alludes occasionally in his writings, but with too much brevity to ascertain the degree of kindred. In his "Tour through Great Britain," he mentions a relative who followed the employment of a schoolmaster at Martock, in Somersetshire, and with whom he maintained a friendly intercourse.* In one of his works, he alludes to "a near relation" at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire;† and, in another, he draws the character of a cousin, who seems to have resided in London, and was a man of abilities, but in other respects far from estimable.‡ It is likely that James Foe had other children besides our author, but their names have not reached us.

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* See Calamy's Acc. p. 159. Contin. p. 227

(c) For the above document, we are indebted to an octavo tract, bearing the following singular title: "An Account of Mr. Thomas Ridgley, an Independent minister and preacher at the Three Cranes in Thames-street, his wilful and malicious blaspheming the work of the Spirit of God in a member of that Church; and how he and Mr. Peter Pindar, and Mr. Robert Hancock, laboured to drive her to distraction and despair: with a copy of the things they persecuted her for; and the copy of three letters she sent to Mr. Ridgley to read, and then to give Mr. Pindar his; and the offence Mr. Barton had given her; with the Scriptures she applied; and a copy how it was tried before the Church; and also how the sufferer declared all to his face at Pinner's Hall, before the ministers, and he did not contradict one word she said. And also the copy of the witnesses' hands against them; and the testimony of twenty witnesses, what her life and conversation has been from her childhood. Printed for the sufferer, Jan. 2, 1707-8. Price 6*d*. pp. 44."

DANIEL FOE, or DE FOE, as he chose afterwards to call himself, was born in the city of London, in the year 1661, two years earlier than the date commonly assigned by his biographers. (D) His birth-place was in the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. For the knowledge of this circumstance, as well as of his descent, we are indebted to the researches of the late George Chalmers, Esq., who made the discovery by examining the books in the office of the Chamberlain of London; and it is fortunate that it then took place, as the records have been since burnt.§

Upon examining the parish register, no entry can be found of his baptism; which is not surprizing, as his parents were Non-conformists, and there can be little doubt that the rite was performed by their own minister, whose religion excluded him from the use of that document. This pastor of their choice was the Rev. Samuel Annesley, L.L.D., a distinguished Presbyterian divine, who was ejected from the living of Cripplegate, and afterwards preached as a Non-conformist, at a meeting-house in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate street. At that place, which was licenced for religious worship in 1672, the parents of De Foe attended their favourite minister; and there can be no doubt that they introduced their son Daniel to the same religious connexion. Under the guidance of so able an instructor, the mind of De Foe was formed to an early love of religion; and his attachment to the cause of nonconformity, was probably heightened by the vexations to which its professors were exposed during the season of his youth. Although we have no direct evidence that he was himself a participator in those sufferings, yet it is not improbable that his parents were in the number of those who took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, that they might maintain the peace of their consciences, and have a title to a better inheritance. It is at least certain, that their pastor, and some of his flock were thus roughly handled. Of Dr. Annesley's worth, both as a minister and a Christian, De Foe long entertained an affectionate remembrance; and he has drawn his character at length in the form of an elegy, which may be found in the collection of his writings. In the following lines he identifies himself with the doctor's congregation.

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* Vol. i. Let. iii. p. 78.

† Use and Abuse, &c. p. 99.

‡ Hist. of Apparitions, p. 316.

(D) This we learn from himself. In the Preface to "The Protestant Monastery," published in 1727, he tells us, he was then in his 67th year.

§ Chalmers's Life of De Foe, p. 6.

> "His native candour, his familiar style,
> Which did so oft his hearers' hours beguile,
> Charmed us with godliness; and while he spake,
> We lov'd the doctrine for the preacher's sake;
> While he informed us what those doctrines meant
> By dint of practice more than argument."

Of the manner in which De Foe passed his early years, scarcely any thing is known. There can be no doubt, however, that every care was taken, both of his education and morals, for which the character of his parents was a sufficient pledge. When a boy, he displayed those light and buoyant spirits, that vivacity of humour, and cheerfulness of disposition, which rendered him a favourite with his companions; and there is evidence from his writings, that he early discovered that spirit of independence, which terminated in an unconquerable love of liberty. He seems to have been a boy, also, of remarkable courage—a feature which strongly marked his future character: we are, therefore, not surprised that it led him sometimes into disputes and contests with other boys of a similar age; for he was both from habit and principle, an enemy to the doctrine of non-resistance. In one of his Reviews, he observes, "From a boxing young English boy, I learnt this early piece of generosity, not to strike my enemy when he is down;"* a disposition which he cherished in all his future contests with the pen.

An anecdote referring to his boyish days, and preserved by himself, may be recorded here as an honourable testimony to the principles and conduct of his pious and plain-hearted parents, who ruled their house in the fear of God, and dedicated their offspring betimes to his service. During that part of the reign of King Charles II. when the nation was under strong apprehensions of a Popish government, and religious persons were the victims of Protestant persecution, it being expected that printed Bibles would become rare, or locked up in an unknown tongue, many honest people, struck with the alarm, employed themselves in copying the Bible into short-hand, that they might not be destitute of its consolations in the hour of calamity. To this task young De Foe also applied himself, and he tells us "That he worked like a horse, till he had written out the whole Pentateuch, when he grew so tired that he was willing to risk the rest."† The employment, indeed, was indifferently suited to a youth of lively spirits, who cannot be supposed to have had the strong feeling upon the subject that actuated older people. In recording the circumstance, De Foe exhorts the Dissenters to look back with thankfulness upon their deliverance from Popish councils, which, had they prevailed, must have terminated in the extinction of their religion.

Those who have watched the development of character, must have noticed how much it depends upon early associations, which have the power of directing the propensities of our nature, and materially influencing the future conduct. The advantages that flow from an early initiation in habits of virtue and piety can never be too highly appreciated; for such is the force of youthful impressions, that they commonly cling to us through life, and act as checks upon the conscience in every deviation from the path of duty. Experience also teaches that respectability of character depends more upon good conduct than upon the adventitious circumstances of honour or fortune; and that the foundation upon which it is reared, must be laid when the passions are most pliable, and whilst the faculties begin to unfold. Hence, an important duty devolves upon parents and instructors, who are in a great measure responsible for the character of the rising generation. It was the good fortune of De Foe to be nurtured by religious parents; and if he deviated from the line of life they had marked out for him, (to which circumstance his subsequent misfortunes may be partly attributed,) yet, for the useful direction of his genius, he was mainly indebted to the principles and habits instilled into him in his youth.

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* Review, vi. 573.

† Ibid, ii. 498.

The domestic education of De Foe was consonant to the practice of the non-conformists of that period. If the reader should inquire in what this consisted? he must have recourse to their own writers for information, rather than to the reports of their enemies. Of the religion of a non-conformist in the seventeenth century, and the method he pursued in the instruction of his children, we have faithful examples in the published lives of Philip and Matthew Henry, to which the reader, if he pleases, may refer. Family religion formed an essential part of their discipline, and they made a conscience of instructing their children and dependents in their social, moral, and religious duties. It was also their practice, to set apart particular days for prayer and humiliation in seasons of calamity; and for thanksgiving upon the reception of eminent benefits. (E) In the time of De Foe, as in subsequent times, the world laughed at them as fanatics; but notwithstanding their reputation for enthusiasm, and the uncourtly severity of their manners, there are periods in the lives of most individuals, when they would willingly say,—May my soul be with the souls of those men!

De Foe's education amongst the Dissenters, had an important influence upon the future events of his life. Strongly attached to their principles both in religion and politics, he wrote and suffered in their defence; but had the misfortune to be misunderstood and ill-treated both by friends and enemies. Of the origin and history of this people, together with the reasons of their conduct, he has given a particular account in his *Reviews;* and as the narrative may serve for the purpose of information to persons who have not made it the subject of their inquiry, and will furnish the justification for his own practice, but little apology will be necessary for inserting it.

"This island," says he, "has been miserably embroiled upon the subject of religion for more than 170 years, and infinite feuds and mischiefs have been its consequence. The animosity, wars, and bloodshed that have arisen out of these disputes are incredible; and if the particulars were but briefly detailed, they would fill a large volume." The origin of these divisions he traces to Henry VIII., and the long discussion relating to his marriage with Queen Katherine, which was over-ruled by Providence for the overthrow of the papal power in these nations. He then continues, "when Henry VIII. pulled down the supremacy of the Pope, and his ambition getting the better of his religion, he put himself in the place of the former usurper." "This,"

(E) "I have known the Dissenters," says De Foe, "and with reason enough, set apart many a day in the times of their apprehensions and afflictions, to deprecate the judgments of God threatening them and the whole nation."—*Review* ii. 500.

says he, " was but dethroning one devil to set up another, pulling down the exorbitancy of a foreign, to exalt the power of a domestic tyrant; and indeed he exercised his new supremacy with all the most insufferable insolences that his unbounded lusts could dictate, and put to death every body that did but refuse to own it. On this new-erected monster of royal supremacy, which modern authors call the *Regale*, has been built most of the unhappy disputes between the Dissenters and the Church of England, and especially that about the government of the church under the tyranny of diocesan episcopacy. I would have it noted, that this is not altogether to be laid to the charge of the first reformers; for such was the furious temper of the king, that if they went a little faster than his caprice and humour could bear, it was their immediate destruction. So that if he brought forward the reformation with one hand, he retarded it with the other, executing Papists one day, and Protestants the next. The heads of the reformation were glad to lay hold on any handle that presented itself for pulling down the insolence of Rome, and perhaps did not foresee, that in exalting the *Regale*, they only changed masters, the mischief still remaining, and that this monster was big with future evils, which would keep the church in perpetual bondage.

" This fixing the supremacy in the king, was the foundation of two things which are now the subject of so much strife in this island, and which have not only protracted, but rendered abortive, all hopes of a general uniformity, and till now obstructed the common union of charity and good neighbourhood. They are, 1. The right of the civil magistrate to appoint ceremonies, and to enforce, as necessary in the worship of God, things that are in themselves indifferent. 2. The government of the church by diocesan bishops. The supremacy in matters ecclesiastical being lodged in the king, the church was entirely thrown into his arms, and without pretending to the infallibility of the Pope, he assumed the power of legislation as effectually as the Pope himself. The church being thus subjected to the arbitrary will of the civil magistrate, the reformation proceeded no farther than was agreeable to his pleasure; and here was laid the ground-work for dissent. The *Regale* and *Pontificate* were the two early mistakes, and are to this day the two principal objections against the Protestant Reformation of the English church.

"The first dispute amongst the reformed began at Frankfort in Germany. There was also a dispute between bishops Hooper and Ridley upon the same subject; but fire and faggot reconciled all little differences, and both died gloriously for the faith, not the ceremonies of the Protestant religion. After the persecution in Queen Mary's time, Queen Elizabeth restored the Protestant church; but, as before, the civil authority took upon it to impose ceremonies, and the Queen, whether politickly as some say to bring in the Papists, or from her own gayness of temper, which delighted too much in the pomp of worship, I shall not determine; but she rather went back in the reformation than carried it farther, so far as respected K. Edward's standard. Several offers were made in her reign for a farther reformation; but this queen, though she was a glorious princess, had a great deal of her father in her, and had it not been for the good she effected, she would have passed for one of the most arbitrary tyrants of all our sovereigns, since William the Conqueror.

"Her successor, though bred a Presbyterian, and sworn to the national covenant, was yet fond of the pomp and splendour of the *Regale;* and reckoning himself in the place of the Almighty as to sovereignty of the conscience, he carried the severe injunction of uniformity to the highest possible pitch. Now, as all violent methods in religion tend to the detriment, and to lessen the influence of those that practice them, so, under the severities of these two reigns, the great defection from the church took place. The number of those that objected against the imposing of the ceremonies daily increased; and the reasons they gave were so specious, so clear, direct and deduced from scripture, that nobody could oppose them. They alleged, 1. That it was the duty of every christian to worship God in the way which he believes to be most agreeable to his will, as revealed in the scriptures. 2. That it was not in the power of the civil magistrate, to make things in the worship of God necessary, which are otherwise indifferent. Thus the whole plea was purity of worship, from whence the people were called Puritans; and though the name was given in derision, yet the blameless lives, extraordinary charity, good works, and general character of the people in their conversation, grew into such repute, that it soon ceased to be a reproach, and 'tis a name reverenced both abroad and at home. Erasmus, when speaking of the several sects amongst the professors of the Protestant religion, left this famous expression:

> " Sit anima mea cum Puritanis Anglicanis."

" These Puritans I have been speaking of, though they scrupled several things in the worship of the Church of England, yet allowing her, as we do still, to be sound in doctrine, they made conscience of not separating from her communion unless they were forced to it; and therefore they never erected separate assemblies, or at least did not communicate in them for many years, after their consciences first rejected the Common Prayer. But such was the fatal spirit among the high party even in those days, their design was not to have the uniformity of worship preserved, or they would have yielded a few indifferent things at first, and have prevented the breach; but the design of the court was to drive these good people to some extremes, thereby to make them liable to the law, and then take the opportunity to oppress them. When all other remedies had failed, the first step they took was to persuade the king to that fatal expedient, the Book of Sports; a step as fatal to his reputation, as to the Protestant religion, and the morals of the nation. Never was the true English spirit so discovered as in this; for, as if a temper hating all manner of force was rooted in their nature, when the people who were bad enough already, were commanded to be worse, they started at the hellish proposal, and reformed even of what they were before. The first ecclesiastical violence founded on this wicked basis, was the bishops enjoining the clergy to read it in their pulpits.

"I confess it has been often matter of wonder to me, that the clergy had no more cunning at that time, for let them be what else they will, we have seldom found them fools; and, generally speaking, when any work was to be done which would bring danger or difficulty with it, the clergy used to shift it off from themselves. But here lies the very mystery, and it will convince the world, that the Dissenters did not scrupulously quit their communion with the church for trifles and indifferent things, but were furiously and violently driven out of it, by imposing that upon them which no serious Christian could or ought to comply with to save his life. I cannot have so little charity but to believe, that the present clergy of the Church of England, if a proclamation for profaning the Lord's-day should be offered them to be read in their churches, by which they would be made accessories to the monstrous crime, there are hundreds of them so conscientious, so zealous for reformation, and sincerely pious, they would suffer any thing rather than comply with it.

"Upon the enforcement of this crime, abundance of the best ministers of the Church of England were deprived of their livings, turned out of their pulpits, and left to seek their bread; and thus they became Dissenters. Others who had quitted the ceremonies in quest of a greater purity of worship, and were therefore called Puritans, joining with them, they all embraced the same name, and so every one that could not sacrifice his conscience to the profaneness and abominable debauchery of the times, were cast out of the church I might enter into the history of that strange monster of religious politics, the Book of Sports, an original of which I have by me, and perhaps I could rip up the faults of some people who are long since gone to answer for it in another place; but I choose rather to bury than renew old mistakes, to reconcile rather than widen our breaches; and therefore I throw a veil over the disasters of those times.

"Soon after these things, the unnatural and terrible wars began, and the parliament party prevailing, the episcopal government, together with the habits and ceremonies, and pomp of worship, went down at once; and the victorious people triumphing over their prince, with him dethroned episcopacy, and set up Presbyterian discipline. To pass over the history of these times: Upon the restoration, episcopacy returned, and the *Regale* ushered in the *Pontificate;* the bishops and all the *et cetera* of the Church of England were restored; and then the other party became Dissenters again. King Charles II. appointed a conference at the Savoy, to see, say some, if the Presbyterians could be brought to conform; others say it was only putting a fair gloss on the matter, to have the better pretence for suppressing them. Here they again showed their unwillingness to separate from the general body, and some of them went so far, that advantage was taken of it, to insinuate that they were episcopally inclined. But all would not do; conformity was not the design, and resolving to abate nothing, above 3000 ministers were silenced and deposed in the kingdom of England in one day. And here began the dissent: for the ministers seeing themselves silenced at once, and so unjustly dealt with, and the people soliciting them, they resolved that it was their duty not to abandon their flocks at the command of men; and whereas they were *straightly charged* with the apostle, *to preach no more in that name*, they answered with the same apostle, *whether it be right in the sight of God, to obey God rather than man, judge ye?* Upon this, they gathered churches, set up separate congregations, and being ministers rightly ordained, they made no scruple to administer all ordinances of worship."

From the foregoing narrative, our author deduces the three following arguments, which may serve as a justification of his own practice. "First, I infer that the Dissenters do not of mere choice differ from the church for the sake of dissenting, as some have maliciously insinuated, nor for trifles or indifferent things, as others allege; but of plain necessity, from true principles of conscience, a sense of duty, and scruples which they cannot get over. Secondly, That upon the Church of England refusing to abate what they cannot comply with, they nevertheless do not reject her as heretical or antichristian, but own her as a true church, subscribe willingly to all her doctrinal articles, and treat her members as brethren, being willing to preserve for her both their charity and respect. Thirdly, That would the Church of England enter upon a farther reformation, and abate in her discipline, government, and worship what these think is not warranted by the word of God, they would most gladly join with her again, and become one united body of Christians, in love, charity, doctrine, worship, and government. As to wishing all people of one mind, it can be extended no farther than to pray, and endeavour by instruction and persuasion, to enlighten the minds of those we think to be in error."*

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* Review for April, 1707; vol. iv. p. 105—130.

CHAPTER II.

De Foe's Education at Newington Green.—Account of the Academies of the Non-conformists.—Defects of those Institutions.—Some Particulars respecting Mr. Morton's Seminary.—De Foe's Vindication of his Tutor against the Aspersions of Wesley.—Account of Mr. Charles Morton.—Dunton's Character of him.—De Foe's Attainments at the Academy.—His character at that period.—He is intended for the Ministry.—But diverted from that Profession.—Unfavourable Character of the times.—His Defence of a Gospel Ministry.—And Statement of the Qualifications necessary for it.—Defends himself from the Charge of being Illiterate against Browne and Tutchin.—Scurrility of Writers at that time.

1675—1681.

ALTHOUGH the enemies of De Foe endeavoured to sink his reputation, by representing him as having been bred a tradesman, yet there is now sufficient evidence that he was intended for one of the learned professions—a circumstance overlooked by his former biographers. When he had, therefore, sufficiently qualified under inferior tutors, he was placed at about fourteen years of age, in an Academy at Newington Green, under the direction of "that polite and profound scholar,"* the Rev. Charles Morton, where he had great advantages for learning, and a very agreeable society.

Of the mode of education pursued in this seminary, no regular account has been preserved; but some judgment may be formed of it by a comparison with similar institutions, and by incidental notices in the works of De Foe and other writers.

The Academies of the Non-conformists being designed as substitutes for the English universities, from which the law had excluded them, and being superintended by tutors who were educated in those establishments, comprehended all the principal branches of a learned education; such as the languages, logic, rhetoric, the mathematics, and philosophy. But as these institutions were intended principally for young men who had devoted themselves to the ministry in the churches of the Non-conformists, particular attention was paid to the study of divinity, upon their proficiency in which, their future respectability and usefulness mainly depended. They were not, however, confined to persons of that profession, but produced many who rose to eminence in civil life. Of the persons who conducted them, one of their own writers speaks thus: "In the English seats of learning, contrary to the practise of most of the other universities in Europe, the chief part of the business is performed, not by the professors of the different departments of science, but by private tutors. Of these, many ranked among the Non-conformists; and as tutors were needed for training up a rising race of pastors for the new-formed churches, they were as well qualified for the task as ever, and they could communicate their instructions in other places, as well as at Oxford and Cambridge."*

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* Tong's Life of Shewer, p. 9.

Although the tutors in these seminaries were in general men of learning and abilities, yet, it is not to be pretended that the advantages they afforded were at all equal to those of the public universities. Amongst their defects, may be mentioned the want of public libraries, and of suitable authority for the preservation of discipline. Upon these and other inconveniences, De Foe has some sensible remarks in a work not commonly known, in which he expresses himself with great freedom, but invokes a candid judgment for the Dissenters upon account of their political oppression. "'Tis evident," says he, "the great imperfection of our academies is want of conversation: this, the public universities enjoy; our's cannot. If a man pores upon his book, and despises the advantage of conversation, he always comes out a pedant, a mere scholar, rough and unfit for any thing out of the walls of his college. Conversation polishes the gentleman; acquaints him with men and with words; lets him into the polite part of language; gives him style, accent, delicacy, and taste of expression; and when he comes to appear in public, he preaches as he discourses, easy, free, plain, unaffected, and untainted with force, stiffness, formality, affected hard words, and all the ridiculous part of a learned pedant, which is, being interpreted, a school fop. Whilst on the other hand, from our schools we have abundance of instances of men that come away masters of science, critics in the Greek and Hebrew, perfect in languages, and perfectly ignorant, if that term may be allowed, of their mother-tongue."

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* Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of Dissenters, ii. 14.

In animadverting upon the defects of private academies, our author notices another particular, in which he considers the mode of tuition to be reprehensible. "Many of the tutors in our academies," says he, "I do not say all, because I knew some of another opinion, being careful to keep the knowledge of the tongues, tie down their pupils so exactly, and limit them so strictly to perform every exercise, and to have all their readings in Latin or in Greek, that, at the end of the severest term of study, they come out unacquainted with English, though that is the tongue in which all their gifts are to shine. The usefulness and excellency of the languages is no way run down in this observation; but preaching the gospel, which is the end of our study, is done in English, and it seems absurd to the last degree, that all the time should be spent in the languages which it is to be fetched from, and none in the language it is to be delivered in." To this error our author attributes it, that so many learned, and otherwise excellent ministers, preach away all their hearers, " while a jingling, noisy boy, that has a good stock in his face, and a dysentery of the tongue, though he has little or nothing in his head, shall run away with the whole town. It is true," he goes on to observe, " the head is the main thing that a tutor is to see furnished; but the tongue must be tuned, or he'll make no music with the voice. Acceptable words, a good diction, a grave, yet polite and easy style, are most valuable things in a minister, and without which, his learning cannot exert itself."*

From some of the defects above enumerated, De Foe makes an exception in favour of Mr. Morton's seminary. " There was some years ago," says he, " a private academy of the Dissenters, not far from London, the master or tutor of which read all his lectures, gave all his systems, whether of philosophy or divinity, in English, and had all his declaimings and dissertations in the same tongue. And though the scholars from that place were not destitute in the languages, yet it is observed of them, they were by this made masters of the English tongue, and more of them excelled in that particular, than of any school at that time. Here were produced of ministers, Mr. Timothy Cruso, Mr. Hannot of Yarmouth, Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, Mr. Owen, and several others; and of another kind, poets, Samuel Wesley, Daniel De Foe, and two or three of your Western martyrs, that, had they lived, would have been extraordinary men of their kind; viz., Kitt. Battersby, young Jenkyns, Hewling, and many more."†

The plan of education adopted by Mr. Morton, was, probably, not dissimilar to that of Dr. Kerr, at Bethnal Green, of which an account is preserved by Mr. Palmer, in his pamphlets against Wesley; and there is a like narrative in print, of the mode of tuition at Gloucester, from the pen of Archbishop Secker.‡ Mr. Morton, who appears to have been every way qualified for his employment, drew up a compendium of logic for the use of his pupils; also, systems of the several arts and sciences, which he explained in his lectures, and which the students copied. One of these, entitled, *Eutaxia,* was a system of politics in accordance with the English constitution; asserting at once the prerogatives of the crown, and the liberties of the subject. It traced the original of all government to the institution of God; confirmed the ordinary method of succession; enforced obedience to the laws, and a cheerful submission to legal taxes; and in case of the subversion of the throne, or failure of issue, it gave a right to the *ordines regni,* to restore the constitution by the extraordinary call of some person to the throne. This political system, which was drawn up in imitation of More's *Utopia,* has been pronounced a complete, ingenious, and judicious treatise, equal, if not superior, to any printed composition of the like nature.* Some excellent rules composed by Mr. Morton, for such of his pupils as were intended for orders, and entitled, "Advice to candidates for the Ministry, under the present discouraging circumstances," are preserved by Dr. Calamy,† and may be read with advantage by all who engage in that profession.

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* Present State of Parties, p. 316—319.

† *Ibid.* p. 320.

‡ Gibbons's Life of Watts, p. 346.

Some aspersions having been cast upon Mr. Morton's character, by an ungrateful pupil who had deserted to the church, and represented the dissenting academies as nurseries of sedition, the sensibilities of De Foe were awakened by the glaring injustice, and he seizes the occasion to do honour to the memory of his beloved tutor. "The author of these sheets," says he, "happens to be one that had what little education he can pretend to, under the same master that gentleman (Samuel Wesley), was taught by, viz., Mr. Charles Morton of Newington Green; and I have now by me the manuscripts of science which were the exercises of his school, and among the rest, those of politics in particular; and I must do that learned gentleman's memory the justice to affirm, that neither in his system of politics, government and discipline, nor in any other the exercises of that school, was there any thing taught or encouraged that was anti-monarchical, or destructive to the constitution of England; and particularly among the performances of that school, I find a declamation relating to the benefit of a single person in a commonwealth, wherein it is proved from history and reason, that monarchy is best suited to the nature of government, and the defence of property."* Another writer who was acquainted with many of Mr. Morton's pupils, bears testimony to their loyalty, as well as to that of their tutor, who made a just distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy, which the young men well understood.†

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* Palmer's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 54.

† Continuation, i. 198—210.

Charles Morton, descended from an ancient family in Nottinghamshire, where it had been seated from the time of Edward III., to which prince one of his ancestors served the office of secretary. (F) His father, Nicholas Morton, was rector of Blisland, in Cornwall, and brought up three sons to the ministry. (G) Charles, the eldest, was born about the year 1626, in the house of his maternal grandfather, Mr. Kestle, at Pendarves, in Cornwall. At fourteen years of age, he was sent to Wadham College, Oxford, where he applied closely to study, and took his degree as M. A. He was then a zealous conformist; but the civil war breaking out soon afterwards, he was led to examine the controversy, which ended in his joining the Puritans. Having a taste for mathematical pursuits, he acquired the esteem of Dr. Wilkins, warden of his college, whose eminence in that department is well known. Upon his leaving the University, he settled at Blisland, his father having vacated the living, and removed to London. Here he continued until the Act of Uniformity in 1662, when he retired to a family estate at St. Ives, and preached to a few people in a neighbouring village. Some losses which he sustained in the great fire that happened in 1666, drew him to London, and occasioned his settlement in the neighbourhood. At the suggestion of some friends, who considered him a proper person to undertake the tuition of youth, he opened an academy at Newington Green, and followed the employment about twenty years. In addition to his qualifications as a man of literature, he is said to have possessed a peculiar talent for exciting youth to a love of learning, as well by the freedom of his conversation, as by his familiar method of explaining difficult subjects. But his occupation as a tutor gave great umbrage to the party in power, who charged it as a violation of the oaths which he had taken at the University: he therefore drew up an able vindication of himself and his brethren, which may be seen at length, in Calamy's Continuation. His nonconformity, however, was the *gravamen* of his offence, aggravated by the schemes that he had formed for its perpetuity. These exposed him to the frequent intrusion of spies and informers, from whom, upon one occasion, he experienced a remarkable deliverance, by the sudden death of the person who had seized him.* Being teazed with continual processes in the bishop's court, and worn out by a series of vexations, from which he saw no prospect of deliverance, he formed the resolution of abandoning his country, and in 1685 embarked for New England. He was there chosen pastor of a church at Charlestown, and vice-president of Harvard College, where he introduced the systems of science that he had used in England, of which copies are preserved in the cabinet of the historical society. Mr. Morton, who possessed a healthy constitution, held the above situations until his death, in April 1697, when he was about seventy years of age. He was a pious, learned, and ingenious man, of a good natural temper, and a generous, indefatigable friend. These qualities procured him the esteem and affections of his pupils, many of whom rose to eminence and usefulness, both in church and state. The sacrifice that he made to principle, bore testimony to his integrity, and it was united to a liberality of feeling, that led him to cherish sentiments of respect towards persons of a different communion. Mr. Morton published some small treatises upon philosophical and religious subjects. He was an enemy to large volumes, often quoting the adage, "a great book is a great evil." In the Transactions of the Royal Society, for 1675, he has a paper upon the Improvement of the County of Cornwall, the seventh chapter of which, is upon sea-sand for manure.* (H)

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* More Short Ways, &c. † Palmer's Defence, p. 11.

(F) Of the same family was Cardinal Morton, an eminent prelate and statesman in the fifteenth century; Dr. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, in the reign of James I.; and Dr. Richard Morton, an eminent physician. A genealogy of the family is in the possession of the Rev. Joseph Hunter of Bath.

(G) Mr. Morton's brothers were, John Morton, rector of Auton-Gifford, Devon; and Nicholas Morton, who died without issue. There was also a sister, Elizabeth Morton, who lived single.

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* Palmer's Defence, &c. p. 16.

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* Calamy's Acc. p. 144. Contin. p. 177—211. Toulouin's Hist. of Dissenters, p. 232.

(H) Dunton, who went to New England about the same time as Mr. Morton, gives the following account of him; "Upon my coming to Boston, I heard that the Rev. Mr. Morton, so much celebrated in England for his piety and learning, was just arrived from England; and with him his kinsman, Dr. Morton the physician. The news of Mr. Morton's arrival, was received here with extraordinary joy by the people in general, and they had reason for it; for, besides being a useful man in fitting young men for the ministry, he always gave a mighty character of New England, which occasioned many to fly to it from the persecution which was then raging in London. I know it would be presumption in me to draw Mr. Morton's character; yet, being personally acquainted with him, I cannot but attempt something like it. His conversation showed him a gentleman. He was the very soul of philosophy; the several manuscripts he writ for the use of his private academy, sufficiently shewed this. His discourses were not stale or studied, but always new and occasional; for whatever subject was at

Of De Foe's attainments at the academy it is impossible now to speak with any certainty; but some light may be thrown upon the subject by his own confessions as they are scattered in his writings. He tells us in one of his "Reviews," that he had been master of five languages, and that he had studied the mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, geography, and history. With the theory and practice of our constitution he was also well acquainted, and he studied politics as a science. Under the direction of his tutor, he went through a complete course of theology, in which he acquired a proficiency that enabled him to cope with the most acute writers of that disputatious age. His knowledge of ecclesiastical history was also considerable; and possessing an acuteness of intellect that was united with various reading, few persons could be found who were fitter advocates for the cause he espoused. If his attainments in polite literature were inferior to some other writers, he surpassed many of his contemporaries. The liveliness of his disposition probably unfitted him for that intense application which is necessary for the production of a profound

any time started, he had still some pleasant and pat story for it. His sermons were high, but not soaring; practical, but not low. His memory was as vast as his knowledge, yet, so great was his humility, he knew it the least of any man. He was as far from pride as ignorance, and if we may judge of a man's religion by his charity, he was a sincere christian. Mr. Morton being thus accomplished, as all will own but Samuel Wesley, who has fouled his nest in hopes of a bishopric, he certainly must be the fittest to bring up young men to the ministry of any in England. 'Tis true he brought up chiefly the children of Dissenters, yet was, as all good men are, a man of universal charity. In a word, Mr. Charles Morton, late of Newington Green, was that pious and learned man, by whose instructions my reverend and worthy uncle, Mr. Obadiah Marriot, was so well qualified for the work of the ministry. To this instance I might add, that Mr. John Shower, and other eminent preachers, owe that fame they have in the world to his great skill in their education. Mr. Morton, having served his generation according to the will of God, is fallen asleep in New England, and is there buried by the side of his virtuous wife. *Dunton's Life and Errors*, p. 169—171.

scholar; but if he did not rise to this eminence, there were few branches of useful knowledge that he left untouched. The usual term of residence at the academy was five years, and a moderate share of application during that time, even in a youth of inferior abilities to De Foe, would insure no inconsiderable results.

As the character of the future man begins to unfold at an early period, it would be desirable to ascertain some of those leading features which characterized De Foe during his state of pupilage. These, however, are to be gathered from the subsequent events of his life, rather than from any direct information; and they lead us to suppose that he was a youth of a lively imagination, great activity, and ready acquirements. The events of the time, when viewed in connexion with the principles of his education, had a strong tendency to produce in him an ardent love of liberty, and the persecutions that awaited its champions increased his abhorrence of tyranny. The close connexion which he observed between civil and religious slavery, confirmed his attachment to the Protestant religion, and to that profession of it which was the least associated with political influence. Of his personal courage, and his early adventures in the cause of liberty, some specimens will occur hereafter.

De Foe, like his contemporary, Addison, and the poets, Thomson and Akenside, was intended for the clerical profession, to his usefulness in which, his religious parents no doubt looked forward with pleasure, as some recompense for the charge they had incurred by his education. Whether he proceeded so far as to officiate in the character is doubtful, his attention having been early directed to politics; but the fact of his primary designation to the office of a Presbyterian minister, is ascertained by his own confession. (1)

(1) It is to be found in one of his Reviews. "It is not often," says he, "that I trouble you with any of my divinity: the pulpit is none of my office. It was my disaster first to be set apart for, and then to be set apart from the honour of that sacred employ." *Review*, vi. 341.

The causes that led to the diversion of his talents into another channel, are now unknown: it is certain that the times were very unfavourable to the exercise of such a function, and occasioned numbers to abandon their pulpits, or withdraw from their native country. A competent witness observes, that "For some time before a Popish prince ascended the throne, Popish counsels so far prevailed, that it was not safe for a Dissenting minister to be seen in the streets of London: many of them were thrown into common gaols; their meetings, which for some years, they held by connivance, were everywhere suppressed; and they chose in some places to meet in the night in small numbers, rather than be wholly destitute of the worship of God, in that way of administration which they thought most conformable to his word. The civil liberties of the people of England met with a violent shock at the same time; some of the best blood that ever ran in English veins was then spilt as water upon the ground; juries were packed, false witnesses suborned, corrupt judges upon the bench, and mercenary lawyers encouraged at the bar, with noisy insolence to hunt down the true friends of the English constitution."* Perhaps De Foe was swayed by other considerations. His natural disposition might be unsuited to so grave a profession, at least with the view that he had taken of it; or some circumstance, now unknown, might have rendered it inexpedient for him to follow it. Certain it is, that his genius led in a different direction, and his necessities compelled him to seek a succession of civil employments, which will be detailed hereafter.

In relinquishing the ministry, however, De Foe by no means abated his respect for the office. In some of his writings, it is true, he takes occasion to expose the hypocritical pretensions of wicked and political priests; but these he always regarded in the light of excrescences, which should be expunged from the body, in order to preserve it in a healthy state. "To reflect on all the ministers of God's word," says he, "is to reflect on the mission of a gospel-ministry, the general spring of the ecclesiastic economy, the mean of divine conveyance, and the only channel of a Christian's felicity: 'tis a certain token of no religion in them that brand their teachers with the want of it, only because they have too much for them."*

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* Tong's Life of Shaver, p. 50, 51.

In connexion with his veneration for the ministerial office, the following passage will show how correctly he thought of the qualifications that should accompany it; and his remarks are worthy the attention of Dissenters in the present day. "Some are of opinion," says he, "that ministers ought to be set apart from all other employments; others allow them to follow mechanical callings: some make their qualifications to consist in human learning; others in sacred illuminations. We are not to enter here into the inquiry, which of them are in the right; or how far the extremes of either side are wrong? The one slighting the more spiritual part, err in that which makes the person both acceptable to God, and edifying to man; and this lays the foundation for that unhappy truth, that some are better ministers than Christians. Others, running upon the dictates of the Spirit, into enthusiasms, revelations, and the Lord knows what extremes, slight the outward means of erudition. These get to be Christians before they learn to be men, and assume the instruction of others when they despise being taught themselves—trampling on their own doctrine. While affirming we are all to be taught of God, and that human instruction is useless, they plainly tell us, we have no more need to be taught by them than they had by their schoolmasters; and so spiritual and temporal instruction are dismissed together."†

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* Review, ii. 19. † *Ibid.* 22, 23.

From the circumstance of his embarking in trade very early in life, the enemies of De Foe, for want of some better ground, attacked him as "an illiterate person, without education;" which we have seen to be as destitute of truth as their other charge, that he was bred a mechanic. "The enemies of peace," says he, "are not a few; and he that preaches a doctrine men care not to follow, when they cannot object against the subject, they will against the man. He is no scholar, says one; that's true: he was an apprentice to a hosier, says another; that's false; and adds to the number of the intolerable liberties Dr. Browne and Mr. Observator give themselves, he having never been a hosier, nor an apprentice; but he has been a trader: that's true; and therefore must know no Latin. Excellent logic this! Those gentlemen who reproach my learning to applaud their own, shall have it proved that I have more learning than either of them—because I have more manners. I have no concern to tell Dr. Browne I can read English; nor to tell Mr. Tutchin I understand Latin: *Non ita Latinus sum ut Latine loqui.* I easily acknowledge myself blockhead enough to have lost the fluency of expression in the Latin, and so far trade has been a prejudice to me; and yet I think I owe this justice to my ancient father, still living, (1705) and in whose behalf I freely testify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own, he having spared nothing in my education that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. Browne, or the learned Observator.

"As to Mr. Tutchin," continues he, "I never gave him the least affront; I have even after base usage, in vain invited him to peace; in answer to which he returns unmannerly insults, calumnies and reproach. As to my little learning and his great capacity, I fairly challenge him to translate with me any Latin, French, and Italian author, and after that to re-translate them cross-ways, for twenty pounds each book; and by this he shall have an opportunity to show the world how much De Foe the hosier, is inferior in learning to Mr. Tutchin, the gentleman."* Our author invokes the candour of the reader for saying so much of himself, which he considers necessary "for their sakes who may see the calumnies when the author is on the other side of time, and can say nothing for himself." Of Dr. Browne and Mr. Tutchin there will be occasion to speak hereafter.

The writers of those days observed but little decorum in their language. One of his opponents, De Foe says, "makes himself merry with me, that I stand in need of a logician to mend my arguments, and a grammarian to mend my Latin. I wish this mirth may calm his temper, and I will not make myself amends upon him by telling him, that he can mend neither for me: that I am master of as many languages as himself, and may have forgot as much Latin as some may have learnt; because I have no mind to quarrel, or put any man into a ferment."—"When they that dispute," observes he, "assume to themselves all the learning and all the sense, I think they ought to have some regard to truth and justice: but it is impossible for some people to keep their temper when they are pinched in argument; which want of temper in them shall be far from moving me to the same error."†

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* Review, ii. 149, 150.

† Ibid, viii. 429, 430.

CHAPTER III.

Restoration of Charles II.—De Foe's Account of that Event and its Consequences to the Nation.—Profligacy of the Court.—De Foe's Picture of the Times.—May Poles.—Drunkenness.—Swearing.—Cavaliers responsible for the change of manners.—Anecdote of Milton.—Early Steps to enslave the Nation.—Charles's little regard to Oaths.—His Conversion to the Catholic Religion.—Duplicity to the Presbyterians.—Act of Uniformity.—Revival of Ecclesiastical Observances.—Curious License for eating Flesh.—The King's Declaration of Indulgence.—Character of Lord Clarendon.—Sheldon's Buffoonery.—Preaching of the Times.—Severity of the Parliament.—And of the Clergy.—Barbarity of Sheldon and Ward.—Character of the Court Clergy.—Some of a better Spirit.—Anecdote of Wilkins and Cosin.

1662—1670.

If any period of our history exceeds another in interest and importance, it is that which elapsed between the Restoration, and the accession of the House of Hanover. For, it was then that the great battle was fought which placed our liberties upon a firm footing; and, as it brought forward the leading characters of all parties, so it was fruitful in circumstances which will always furnish topics for useful reflection. It was during this eventful period that De Foe passed the most considerable portion of his life; and the sequel will show that he was not only an acute observer, but, also, no inconsiderable actor upon the stage of politics.

At the commencement of his career, the throne was occupied by Charles the Second, a prince of dissipated habits, who governed the nation with as despotic a sway as any of his predecessors. For his sudden elevation to a dignity of which he proved himself so unworthy, he was indebted more to the dissensions of the nation, than to the exertions of his friends, who had been subdued by the military prowess of Cromwell, and kept down by the severity of his government. The confusion that followed the death of the Protector, owing to the weakness of the civil power, and its subjection to the army, united opposite parties in promoting the return of Charles as the most likely method for putting an end to civil discord. Although the merit of this proceeding was claimed chiefly by Monk, who acted throughout with the greatest duplicity, yet, it could not have been effected without the concurrence of the Presbyterians, who had possession of the government, and formed the strongest party in the nation. Notwithstanding their opposition to the first Charles, who had rendered himself odious by his tyranny, they retained their attachment to regal government, and cheerfully seconded the public voice in calling home his son.

A fine opportunity now offered for securing the liberties of the people, by placing such boundaries to the royal authority as were suggested by reason and experience. For this purpose some limitations were proposed in parliament; but the artifice of some and the extravagant joy of others defeated so prudent a measure, and restored the nation to a tyranny from which it became necessary to relieve itself by another revolution.

After an exile of twelve years, Charles returned to England in the month of May, 1660, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. The expectations that were raised by this event, and the methods by which they were defeated, are thus described by De Foe:

"The blessed restoration of the royal line promised England happy days, a general cessation of blood and rapine, the sad but natural consequences of civil war, and all people seemed to be pleased with the change. Nor had the nation's hopes been defeated, had the king come over with a head or a heart embarked either in his own interest, or that of his country. But tainted with that plague of monarchs, the lust of arbitrary rule, the king set up a separate happiness from that of his people. It would be a long and melancholy story to relate here the steps by which he attempted the liberties and some say, the religion of this country; and such was the humour of the times, that this prince had a strange influence over the people by being unmeasurably beloved by them. But here providence permitted one vice to destroy another. The prince, given up entirely to his ease, and drowned in all the luxuries of a life devoted to sloth and effeminacy, his long lascivious reign was spent wholly in drunkenness, lewdness, and all manner of debaucheries. To maintain the profuse expence that always attends a life of so much pleasure, he neither could be satisfied with the daily extensions of subsidies and taxes given by parliament, nor with several encroachments on his people, but basely subjected himself to be a pensioner of France, receiving vast sums from the French court. In lieu thereof, it is a sad story to tell how he took his measures by their direction, being managed by French councils, wheedled by French w——s, bribed by French money, and in a word, given up to French interest."*

The character of Charles was not improved by his residence abroad, nor by the society he kept after his return. Unrestrained by any feeling of shame, he resigned himself openly, from the day of his landing, to every species of profligacy. In this respect, at least, he emulated his brother of France. A writer of those times, alluding to the two kings, says, " Their courts were full of infamous women, who publickly, and in open day-light, revelled in banquetting, and all kinds of wantonness: and this not only in the public gardens, in the city, and in the bagnios, in walking, dressing, company-keeping, ogling, and loose conversation; but even in embracing, kissing, and sporting with their admirers in pleasure-boats in the sight of all the people, attended by a set of bullies for their guards. And those who did not conform to these things, and had not also learned the polite mode of swearing, were looked upon as old-fashioned formal people, and disaffected to the king. The French king's chief delight was in Madamoiselle de la Valiere, and Madame de Montespan; the King of England in the Countess of Castlemain, Nell Gwynne, and the little Frenchwoman. By the example of these kings, the masculine virtue of the age was softened into effeminacy, and good morals were changed into a contempt of all religion, and an avowed practice of every vice. From the example of the court, the distinctions of truth and falsehood were lost among the people, who for the most part reckoned nothing evil but pain, and nothing good but pleasure."* (K)

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* Review, vi. 18.

The vices of the times are chastised by De Foe with becoming spirit. "Immediately on the Restoration," says he, "one of the first demonstrations the people gave of the liberty they enjoyed in all manner of excesses, was the erecting of may-poles all over the kingdom. What riot and revelling ensued is a melancholy tale, and I choose rather to bury than revive the memory of it. I am far from arguing against innocent diversions, and the ordinary sports and pastimes of the people. Recreations are without doubt, as lawful in themselves as labour, and in some cases as useful; but the may-pole recreation was generally the excursion of the flagon. I omit very willingly the profaneness of its original, and believe the country lads and lasses may as innocently dance around a may-pole as any where else. But the objection is, that when the extravagances of church exultation appear, they generally shew themselves in giving a greater swing to immorality than any other people; rather prompting vice than conniving at an innocent diversion."*

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* Cunningham's Hist. Great Britain, i. 25, 26.

(K) "1661, August 31st. At court, things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it but confusion: and the clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people."---*Pepys's Memoires*, i. 115.

Of the lengths to which the crime of drunkenness was carried, De Foe has recorded some curious specimens. "If the history of this well-bred vice," says he, "was to be written, it would plainly appear that it began among the gentry, and from them was handed down to the poorer sort, who still love to be like their betters. After the Restoration, when drinking the king's health became the distinction between a cavalier and a round-head, drunkenness began its reign. The gentry caressed this beastly vice at such a rate, that no companion, no servant was thought proper, unless he could bear a quantity of wine; and to this day, when you would speak well of a man, you say, he is an honest drunken fellow, as if his drunkenness was a recommendation of his honesty. Nay, so far has this custom prevailed, that the top of a gentleman's entertainment has been to make his friend drunk; and the friend is so much reconciled to it, that he takes it for the effect of his kindness. The further perfection of this vice amongst the gentry appears in the way of expressing their joy for any public blessing. "Jack," said a gentleman of very high quality, when, after the debate in the House of Lords, King William was voted into the vacant throne, "Jack, go home to your lady and tell her we have got a Protestant King and Queen; and go make a bonfire as big as a house, and bid the butler make ye all drunk ye dog." "Here," says De Foe, "was sacrificing to the Devil, for a thanksgiving to God."†

The custom of profane swearing, whatever was its origin, had been long in vogue amongst all classes, but it now attained its climax, and custom so far prevailed, that a man's discourse was not considered agreeable without it.* This foolish practice now also infected the females, although it seems to have been confined chiefly to the lower orders. In allusion to it, De Foe says, "As the Devil never proposed a thing so absurd, but some or other would close with it; so here and there, one of a coarser breed than ordinary among the ladies, came a little into it: but there was something so harsh, so rough, so rude in the thing itself, that shocks the natural softness of the sex, and it would never go down with them. Drunkenness and swearing will never be called female vices. I remember the late Duchess of Portsmouth, in the time of Charles II., gave a severe retort to one who was praising Nell Gwynne, whom she hated. They were talking of her wit and beauty, and how she always diverted the king with her extraordinary repartees; how she had a fine mien, and appeared as much a lady of quality as any body; 'yes, madam,' said the Duchess, 'but any body may know she has been an orange-wench by her swearing.'"†

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* Review, ii. 330.

† Poor Man's Plea, p. 15.

When we revert to the character of the times preceding the Restoration, it may seem difficult to account for the change that took place so suddenly in the habits of the people. It has been the fashion with a certain class of writers, to lay this moral plague at the door of the Puritans, as the result of fanaticism; but whatever follies some of them may be chargeable with, it would be as just to assign the profligacy of the period to the return of episcopacy. The Puritans erred in attempting to drill the nation to religion by acts of parliament which created shoals of hypocrites, who threw off the mask as soon as they had a license for their conduct. Knaves are common to all ages and professions of religion, and if they existed in the time of the Commonwealth, nobody will pretend that they were laid to sleep at the Restoration. It was to the Puritans, in fact, that the people were chiefly indebted for the preservation of religion in these licentious times; for, although much merit is due to some divines of the episcopal persuasion, yet, it is notorious, that the great corrupters of the nation professed to be of the Established Church. Many of these loyal persons had gone abroad for their education in the school of vice, and returned with the king, fully prepared to assist him in unravelling the web of religion, or if the reader pleases, of fanaticism, that had been woven by the Puritans.

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* Essay on Projects, p. 238.

† Review, viii. 247—8.

Charles, who commenced his reign by a savage warfare against the dead, marked it no less with the blood of the living, who fell an early sacrifice to political resentment.(L) Having surrounded himself by the old cavaliers and high episcopal men, he allowed them to tread without reserve upon the necks of their enemies, and was complimented in return with the liberties of the nation. The convention-parliament consisting chiefly of Presbyterians, was dissolved a few months after the king's return, and replaced by a new one, more conformable to the views of the court. The loyalty of this body cannot for a moment be suspected if we advert to its acts; but of its wisdom the same materials afford but very slender proof. The first step to bring the people into bondage, was the act for regulating corporations, " wisely beginning that in those lesser governments," says Locke, " which they afterwards meant to introduce upon the whole nation."* The next step was in the Act of Militia, which extended the same absurd oath to the nobility and gentry; and by vesting the sole power of the militia in the king, was intended to swear the nation into a military government. Another measure was to unswear those who had taken the solemn league and covenant, which was now pronounced an unlawful oath, and superseded by others, better suited to the loyalty of the times. The indecency of this act was the more glaring, as the king had himself taken the covenant in the most solemn manner at his coronation in Scotland. Such a method of sporting with oaths had a direct tendency to destroy their sanctity, and to unfix the principles of public men; for, whether the oath in question was proper or otherwise, its validity was not to be ascertained by an act of parliament, nor was it lessened in consequence. Of the little regard that is to be attached to the oaths and promises of unprincipled men, Charles, who had gone the round of conformity to the Church of Scotland, the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, and back again to Rome, afforded a striking example. Devoid of any feeling either of honour or conscience, he would contract the most sacred obligations, without any serious intention of performing them. Convenience was the main spring that regulated his actions. In subserviency to this, he made no scruple to sacrifice his friends and to betray his country; nor, in accomplishing either, to practice the vilest acts of perfidy and falsehood.

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* Letter to a Person of Quality.

(L) Milton, who had been latin secretary to Cromwell, and distinguished himself by writing in defence of the king's death, seems to have anticipated the fate of the regicides. When he found himself excluded from the act of indemnity, he adopted the ingenious device of feigning himself to be dead, and ordered a public funeral procession. To this, perhaps, he in part owed his escape; for the king, who was heartily fond of a joke, seems to have approved of it in the present instance, and is said to have applauded the policy of Milton in eluding the punishment of death, by a seasonable shew of dying.—*Cunningham's Great Brit.* i. 14.

During their residence in France, Charles and his brother had secretly reconciled themselves to the Catholic Church, and promised that in case of their return, they would endeavour to procure its establishment in England.* This conversion was at the bottom of all the policy that governed ecclesiastical matters in this and the next reign. Charles, indeed, never had sufficient zeal to avow himself openly; nor did he choose to risk his crown by going far in a measure that was so much at variance with the feelings of the nation.

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* Secret Hist. of Engl. ii. 54.

It is said, that Monk caught him once at mass, and told him in surprise, "That if he played these pranks, though he had interest enough to bring him in, he had not sufficient to keep him there."* By putting himself at the head of the English Church, Charles evinced the same insincerity that governed his other actions; but he bowed to it as a matter of expediency, and rendered the office subservient to his schemes for power.

As the Presbyterians had a principal hand in raising him to the throne, they had a right to expect a return of justice, if not of gratitude. Although they could scarcely look forward to the preservation of their establishment, they were taught to expect some modification in the old episcopacy, and at all events the peaceable exercise of their religion. By his declaration from Breda, Charles had made large professions of toleration, promising that no man should be disturbed for his opinions, and he practised so far upon the credulity of those who were commissioned to invite him over, that they entertained no suspicion of his sincerity. The courtesy that he shewed them after his return, was an interlude in the farce he was now to play at their expence. That the mask might be thrown off with apparent grace, a conference was acceded to between the leading divines of both parties; but the manner in which it was conducted evidently shewed the insincerity of the dominant party, and that no apprehension was entertained for the issue. No one who looks into the debates at the Savoy, can for a moment suppose that the leading prelates ever meant to make any abatements; such a farce, however, seemed necessary to redeem the king's promise, as well as to prepare the nation for the measures that were to follow.

It is well known, that a few concessions would have brought over many of the Presbyterians, who had no objections to an establishment, and to a modified episcopacy, like that proposed by Archbishop Usher, and agreed upon in the treaty at the Isle of Wight. It may, also, be reasonably supposed, that they were not unwilling to derive their maintenance from the parishes where they had been accustomed to exercise their ministry, and had formed attachments. In order to this, they were prepared for some sacrifices; but the prelates, who betrayed a selfish unaccommodating spirit, and were actuated partly by motives of revenge, determined to keep their churches and revenues for those of their own party. In order to this, an act for the uniformity of worship throughout the kingdom was passed by the legislature, and came into operation the 24th of August, 1662. Swearing being so much in vogue, the oath enjoined by the corporation act was made a part of it. "This," says Locke, "the clergy readily complied with; for you know, that sort of men are taught rather to obey than understand, and to use that learning they have to justify, not to examine what their superiors command. And yet that Bartholomew day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to this, and other things in that act. And it is upon this occasion worthy your knowledge, that so great was the zeal in carrying on this church affair, and so blind was the obedience required, that if you compute the time of the passing this act, with the time allowed for the clergy to subscribe the Book of Common Prayer thereby established, you shall plainly find it could not be printed and distributed so as one man in forty could have seen and read the book they did so perfectly assent and consent to."*

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* Secret Hist. of Engl. ii. 54.

In the infancy of their acquaintance, Charles and the church maintained a frequent interchange of civilities.

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* Locke's Letter to a Person of Quality.

Whilst the latter offered up prayers to celebrate his piety, he lent his countenance to her forms, by an occasional attendance upon public worship, and sanctioned the revival of those ecclesiastical observances, which, with many, passed for religion. Since the days of Laud, the reign of superstition had greatly subsided, the Puritans being negligent of saints'-days, and the commemoration of other events, which had been long embodied in religious worship. Shortly after the Restoration, a proclamation was issued for the celebration of Christmas, and another for the observance of Lent. But fasting, although upon fish, being ill-suited to so joyous a period, a dispensation was provided for those who could pay for it. Singular as it may appear in the present day, an office for granting licences to eat flesh in any part of England, was opened in St. Paul's Church Yard, and advertised in the public papers, anno 1663. Of this indulgence, the good people availed themselves to a great extent; but that bishops should be the sinners in nullifying the institutions of their own church, is not a little remarkable. A curious licence, under the hand and seal of Archbishop Juxon, dated 1663, grants permission to Sir Nath. Powell, Bart., his sons and daughters, and six guests whom he shall at any time invite to his table, to eat flesh in Lent, provided that they eat soberly and frugally, with due grace said, and privately to avoid scandal! the said Sir Nathaniel giving the sum of thirteen shillings and four pence to the poor of the parish.* Other licences of a similar nature, are to be found in different parish registers.

In order to soften the condition of the non-conforming sects, and thereby to prepare the way for the toleration of Papists, the king determined to issue a declaration of indulgence. Being debated first in the Privy Council, it was strenuously opposed by that callous-hearted prelate, Dr.

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* Lysons's Environs of London, iii. 119.

Sheldon, Bishop of London; and by Lord Clarendon, who was the main-spring of all the harsh measures that disgraced the early part of this reign. His high and arbitrary principles, which rendered him the mortal enemy of every thing liberal, abate much of the respect to which his abilities and virtues would otherwise entitle him; but if he betrayed the liberties of his country, he was a sincere friend to the king, whose ingratitude towards him will admit of no extenuation. Clarendon was aware of Charles's disingenuity, and of his inclination to Popery; he, therefore, set himself to oppose all advances towards it, which lessened him in the king's favour, and his counteraction of a love-intrigue soon afterwards hastened his fall. The indulgence was issued, but speedily recalled by desire of parliament, and succeeded by a proclamation against the Papists, which was regarded as little as it was intended.

Sheldon, who was at the head of the sect of persecutors in the church, as Clarendon was in the state, seems to have been as insensible to the decorum belonging to religion, as he was to good feeling and humanity. Of this, Pepys has recorded a remarkable instance, in a piece of buffoonery and profaneness acted at Lambeth Palace, when he was dining there. "1669, May 14. At noon to dinner with Mr. Wren to Lambeth, with the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first time I ever was there, and I have long longed for it. Where a noble house and well furnished, with noble pictures and furniture, and noble attendance in good order, and a great deal of company though an ordinary day; and exceeding great cheer, no where better, or so much, that ever I think I saw for an ordinary table; and the bishop mighty kind to me particularly, desiring my company another time when less company was there. Most of the company gone, and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by, this gentleman told me it was a mockery of one Count Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyter-Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up of their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglington, till it made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shewn him as a rarity. And he took care to have the room-door shut; but there was about twenty gentlemen there, and myself infinitely pleased with the novelty."*

In all sects that are remarkable for zeal, there will be a strong disposition to enthusiasm, and the gesticulations of the orator will often be in proportion to his earnestness. If the Puritans were not exempt from grimace, it was less injurious to morals than the levity of their successors, who, in avoiding one extreme fell into another. But whatever were the failings of the Puritans, they were scarcely a fit subject for profane mirth, and least of all in a bishop's palace. So far as the main end of preaching is concerned, there can be little doubt that they had greatly the advantage of their opponents, from whom it would be difficult to select one that was at all comparable with Richard Baxter. And even in point of taste, some of their divines will admit of a safe comparison; as may be instanced in the examples of Bates, Howe, Clarkson, and others. After the Restoration, the quality of preaching underwent a change for the better in all sects, and it continued in a state of progressive improvement. (M)

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* Pepys's Memoirs, ii. 342.

(M) Of a depraved taste in composition at this period, the sermons of Dr. Sancroft furnish a striking example. See particularly one preached at the consecration of several bishops in 1662, which, if any one can read with gravity, he has more self-possession than falls to the lot of most people. The flights of the preacher oblige us to conclude with Festus upon another occasion, "Much learning doth make thee mad."

The high-church party being now predominant in parliament, as well as in the king's councils, gratified its vengeance against the proscribed sects, by the enactment of laws that would disgrace the most barbarous period of legislation. It is impossible to contemplate their contents, without being stung by their injustice; or to look back upon the men who framed them, without the strongest sentiments of indignation and abhorrence. The rigour with which these laws were executed, occasioned many to leave their country; whilst those who remained behind were subject to every insult that bigotry could devise, or malice execute. The gaols of the kingdom were filled with peaceable subjects, who were despoiled of their property; and the laws of honour, justice, and humanity, were violated as a pious offering to the idol which all men were commanded to worship.

The share which the clergy took in these severities is too much a matter of history to be contradicted, and leaves a stain upon their character, which no ablution can ever wash out. The letter of Sheldon to the bishops of his province upon the passing of the conventicle act, betrays a brutishness of disposition unworthy the name of man; and would have told quite as well from the savages who desolated the nation under a pretence of religion, in the days of Queen Mary. Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, another unfeeling persecutor, exerted himself strenuously in favour of the act just mentioned, "not without the order and direction of the greatest authority both civil and ecclesiastical;" and the reason assigned for it is curious: "Not out of enmity to the Dissenters' persons, as they unjustly suggested, but of love to the repose and welfare of the government!" But, did ever persecutor advance an inferior reason for his conduct? A Papist burns the body for the good of the soul; and a Protestant persecutes his fellow-christians for the welfare of the state! The device in both cases, however it may have passed current in the world, is too hollow to impose upon common sense. But the bishop was as zealous in executing the act, as he was in promoting it; "and his Majesty was pleased to own and accept this as good service to the public, and to encourage the bishop in it."* The civilities of princes, says Johnson, are never thrown away.† Ward, who had shifted his religion with the times, did full justice to the sentiment; for, in his diocese, the persecution raged with the greatest violence, many hundred persons being driven from their trades and families, for declining to be of his lordship's religion.

Such men may be complimented by their flatterers as Christians; but whatever name their religion went by, they were no better than wild beasts let loose to devour the flock they pretended to feed, and were a disgrace no less to human nature, than to the religious system of which they professed to be the teachers. Cruelty and injustice form no part of Christianity; nor were they associated before it was established by civil pains and penalties: but Christians no sooner took the place of their Pagan persecutors, than they adopted their spirit; and whilst they mocked the world with their professions, discovered by their conduct how deeply the root of bitterness was seated in their hearts.

To save the credit of the order, it furnished a few men, in the early part of the reign, who were of a more excellent spirit, that by their example, the enemies of religion might not have a total triumph over it, as an engine for gratifying the rapacity and cruelty of ecclesiastics. Rainbow and Wilkins both had the courage to oppose the Conventicle act, as a barbarous invasion of the liberties of their country. Earle, Ward's predecessor, did the same by the Oxford act; concerning which the Lord Treasurer Southampton shrewdly observed, that "Though he liked episcopacy, yet he would not be sworn to it, because he might hereafter be of another opinion." The number of Christian prelates, however, was too small to have a decisive influence; but they had the argument upon the score of policy, as well as of good morals. This was well illustrated by Wilkins, in a conversation with Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who had censured him for his moderation. Wilkins frankly told him, that he was a better friend to the church than his lordship: "For, while you," says he, "are for setting the top on the picqued end downwards, you wont be able to keep it up any longer than you keep whipping and scourging; whereas I am for setting the broad end downwards, and so 'twill stand of itself."* Wilkins was a philosopher as well as a Christian; but the generality of his brethren were mere courtiers; and whilst they pretended to be the followers of Christ, showed themselves to be the enemies of man.

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* Pope's Life of Ward, p. 68. † Life of Frederic II.

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* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 33.

CHAPTER IV.

The King and Parliament unite in oppressing the People.—Sydney's Account of the Introduction of Bribery.—Marvel's Representation.—De Foe's Account of the Pension-Parliament.—The Springs of Charles's Policy.—His Treaty with the French King.—The Cabal.—Intermission of Parliaments.—Charles's Perfidy to the Dutch.—And to his own Subjects.—Shuts up the Exchequer.—De Foe's Account of its ruinous consequences.—Declaration of Indulgence.—Shaftesbury's Reflections upon it.—Re-called.—The King's Duplicity.—Wickedness of Laws to prescribe Religion.—The Test Act.—Opposed by the Court.—The King gives his Assent.—Conduct of the Earl of Bristol.—And of the Dissenters.—Reflections upon it.—Their Patriotism praised by De Foe.—His Account of Alderman Love's Speech.—And of the Policy of the Court in Religious Matters.—Persecution renewed.—De Foe's Remarks upon the Subversion of Justice.

1670—1677.

During the first half of this reign, King Charles and his parliament acted in harmonious concert to enslave the people, and plunder them of their property, which was disposed of in support of his vices, and in purchasing the independence of those who should have been the guardians of the public purse. "It was in this reign," observes one of our political writers, "that that cursed and detestable policy was much improved of bribing parliaments, by distributing all the great employments of England among them, and supplying the want of places with grants of land and money. No man could be preferred to any employment in church or state till he had declared himself an open enemy to our constitution, by asserting despotic power under that nonsensical phrase of passive-obedience, which was more preached up than all the laws of God and man."* For this device, Sydney informs us, the nation was beholden to Hyde, Clifford, and Danby, "who found a parliament full of lewd young men, chosen by a furious people in spite to the Puritans, whose severity had distasted them. The weakest of all ministers had wit enough to understand that such as these might be easily deluded, corrupted, or bribed. Some were fond of their seats in parliament, and delighted to domineer over their neighbours by continuing in them. Others preferred the cajoleries of the court before the honour of performing their duty to the country that employed them. Some sought to relieve their ruined fortunes, and were most forward to give the king a vast revenue, that from thence they might receive pensions. This emboldened the court to think of making parliaments to be the instruments of our slavery, which had in all ages past been the firmest pillars of our liberty."† Marvel, who was one of the few honest members, observes, "Such was the number of the constant courtiers, increased by the apostate patriots, who were bought off for that turn, some at six, others ten, one at fifteen thousand pounds in money, besides what offices, lands, and reversions to others, that it is a mercy they gave not away the whole land and liberty of England."‡

From such a state of things, the nation could not but reap the bitterest fruits. They are thus described by De Foe: "Did not our fathers in a pension-parliament sell our liberties, and give away our substance to the luxury and tyranny of a party? Did they not sell us to a Popish successor, and to all the miseries of a war that followed? How did they get leave to do this, but by buying the voices of the poor ignorant, debauched people? And why was it that the policy of that age made it a great rule to debauch the morals and senses of the people in general, but in order to this very thing, that being made thus lunatic, they might be bound in the chains of a fettered understanding, and led hoodwinked to their own ruin; and so choose men equally given up to bribery, for the destruction of the laws, liberties, and prosperity of their country? Thus it was of old time, when arbitrary counsels invaded us, and it was by the aid of this vile practice they obtained; freeholders and electors being deluded to give away, or sell their voices to villains that had been before debauched in principle, and had consented to deposit our liberty in the hands of tyranny."*

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* Hist. of Standing Armies, p. 12. † Disc. on Gov. p. 456, ed. 1763.

‡ Marvel's Works, ii. 74.

Although the main-spring of Charles's policy, both domestic and foreign, was the extortion of money, yet, there were two other designs which he never lost sight of: these were, to render himself independent of parliaments, and to subvert the Protestant religion. Towards the accomplishment of both, the parliament had assisted him to make rapid strides; and he hoped to accomplish the remainder by cementing his relations with France. For this purpose, he negotiated a treaty with the French king, without the knowledge of his ministers, and engaged, for the sum of two millions of livres, to declare himself a Catholic, as soon as circumstances should permit. He also stipulated for a body of French troops to assist in the project; but, with his usual art, made a reserve of the time to his own choice. Charles pocketted the money; but whether he had any serious intention to fulfil the contract may be doubted, as he loved his ease too well to venture upon so dangerous a measure. By another treaty, for which he was to receive three millions of livres, he engaged to assist France in destroying the liberties of Holland.† Much has been said and written about the hypocrisy of Cromwell; but a prince who could act with so much perfidy to a people who received him with caresses, and loaded him with favors, throws all competitors for disgrace in the back ground.

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* Review, v. 83.

† Dalrymple, App.

Having taken into his confidence five ministers, who, from the initial letters of their names, were called the CABAL, (N) Charles determined to push his attack upon the religion and liberties of the nation. That he might effect this with the greater ease, he dismissed his parliament upon the 11th of April, 1670, and intermitted its sitting for nearly three years. He was now at leisure to make war upon the Dutch, for which he feigned the most frivolous pretences; but before his declaration, he made an attempt to seize their Smyrna fleet. Although such a proceeding was contrary to all the recognized principles of law and honor, yet, this consideration was of little weight with a prince who broke through the most sacred ties to his own subjects. It was but a few weeks before that he defrauded the bankers who had lent money to the government, by shutting up the Exchequer. The panic which this measure occasioned in the city, is thus described by De Foe: "On a sudden, like a clap of thunder, K. Charles II. shut up the Exchequer, which was the common centre of the overplus cash these great bankers had in their hands. What was the consequence? Not only the bankers who had the bulk of their cash there, but all Lombard-street stood still, as if they had been thunderstruck. The very report of having money in the Exchequer brought a run upon the goldsmiths that had no money there, as well as upon those that had; and not only Sir Robert Vyner, Alderman Backwell, Farringdon, Forth, and others, broke and failed, but several were ruined who had not a penny of money in the Exchequer, and only sunk by the rumour of it; that rumour bringing a run upon the whole street, and giving a check to

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(N) The five persons were Sir Thomas Clifford, the Earl of Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Earl of Lauderdale.

the paper-credit that was run up to such an exorbitant heighth before." "After this," adds De Foe, "Who would have lent King Charles II. fifty pounds on the credit of his own word or bond?"* Such an act, in ordinary times, would have passed for dishonesty; but Charles, who pocketted by it nearly a million and a half of money, was superior to the restraints of common life, and amused his creditors with declarations full of hypocrisy, promising to recommend them to the care of parliament. This was a reservoir to which he had been accustomed to apply upon all emergencies, but it failed him in this instance; for if the king chose to declare himself devoid of honesty, the parliament did not think itself under any obligation to make good his frauds, and the bankers were not paid until the reign of King William.

In furtherance of his schemes for the introduction of Popery, Charles issued, upon the 15th of March, 1672, another declaration for liberty of conscience, dispensing with the laws in force against all classes of Dissenters. It is said to have been for the purpose of enforcing the necessity of a general toleration by a practical view of the folly of persecution, that he had concurred in the severities exercised by churchmen, who never dreamt that he was using them for an ulterior design. But whatever projects were formed by the king, his chancellor, Shaftesbury, supported the indulgence from motives of a more honest policy. "He desired me," says Mr. Locke, "seriously to weigh, whether liberty and property were likely to be maintained long in a country like ours, where trade is so absolutely necessary to the very being as well as prosperity of it, and in this age of the world, if articles of faith and matters of religion should become the only accessible ways to our civil rights."† Aware of the illegality of the measure, Charles thought it best to silence all cavils by a proclamation, threatening with severe punishment all persons who, by speaking or writing, should intermeddle with the affairs of state, or the conduct of his ministers. This order was but little attended to by the clergy, who sounded the alarm of Popery with so much zeal, that many sober men began to believe they were in earnest.*

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* Complete Tradesman, i. 189, 347.

† Locke's Letter.

The necessities of Charles obliging him at length to re-assemble his parliament, he was under the necessity of revoking the indulgence, as a condition of supply, and to issue an order for removing all priests and jesuits from the kingdom; a measure which he never meant to be executed. The king never found any difficulty in accommodating himself to circumstances, always relying upon his dexterity for the evasion of acts that he could not control. Of his little regard for the Non-conformists, notwithstanding his late affected lenity, he gave a striking proof at the close of this same session. For the Commons having found out their mistake in dividing the Protestant interest, had passed a bill to annul the penalties in the Act of Uniformity; and, it would have passed the Lords, had not the king prevented it by proroguing the parliament.† Charles, who was any thing but an honest prince, steered his course by a different policy from the emperor Trajan, who, putting his sword into the hands of his prefect, desiring that it might be drawn against him, whenever he should attempt any thing against the public good.

But, whatever reputation the parliament had now acquired for a change of feeling towards dissenting Protestants, it was tarnished by a measure which added to the injustice of its former enactments. Regardless of the great ends of society, the whole of legislation was directed to the aggrandizement and security of one sect of men, who had no rational claim to exclusive privileges, beyond the rest of their countrymen. Had the ecclesiastical forms established at the Restoration been more perfect than they really are, still there must have been many individuals who were incompetent to appreciate their merits; and to punish men for ignorance seems to be as unjust as it is ineffectual. Besides, the prejudices of education, and the uncertainty attending such speculations, will, of necessity, leave different apprehensions in the minds of studious men, who, if honest to their convictions, cannot all square them by any uniform standard of belief. To attempt such a scheme is as wicked as it is preposterous; for it subverts the sacredness of principle, and sanctions hypocrisy by law.

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* Locke's Letter.

† Rapin's Hist. Eng. ii. 663.

These reflections have been suggested by a bill which now passed both houses of Parliament, intitled "An Act for preventing the dangers which may happen from Popish recusants." It is commonly known by the name of the "Test Act," and excluded from any office of trust or profit those who did not renounce the doctrine of transubstantiation, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the manner prescribed by the Church of England. Although professedly levelled at the Catholics, it was so framed as to include within its capacious grasp, all persons who dissented from the parliamentary church. But to deprive men who possessed a stake in their country, in this sweeping manner, of their civil rights, was an act of legal violence, suited to the despotic character of the age, and should have been accompanied by an exemption from the burthen of supporting a constitution, from the benefits of which they were excluded.

Burnet informs us, that great pains were taken by the court to divert this bill;* the reason for which it is not difficult to penetrate. Charles set as high a value upon the royal game of king-craft as his sapient grandfather, only he played at it with more dexterity. By the encouragement he had given to Papists, and his undeviating efforts to procure for them a legal toleration, he pointed plainly to the bent of his policy; he could not, therefore, but view with dissatisfaction this attempt of the Parliament to brace the laws still tighter against them. The only means by which he could hope to defeat it, was to cover his real sentiments by affecting a regard for the Dissenters, who might reasonably hope for some consideration from their fellow-protestants in this season of common danger. By thus shifting the odium of intolerance upon the church, he hoped to widen the breach between the two parties, and so to pave the way for the triumph of their common adversary. His craft, however, did not succeed in this instance, nor did his ministers who opposed the bill, gain any credit for their sincerity. Finding the current so strong against him, he gave his reluctant assent to the measure, upon the 29th of March, 1673, having previously secured an enormous subsidy. (o)

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* Burnet's Own Times, i. 485.

The greatest anomaly attending this proceeding, was the countenance it received in parliament from the persons who were to be most affected by it. The Earl of Bristol, a Catholic, justified its policy; observing, that "however the sentiments of a Catholic of the Church of Rome (not of the Court of Rome) may oblige me, upon scruple of conscience, to give my negative to this bill, yet, as a member of a Protestant Parliament, my advice prudentially cannot but go along with the main scope of it, the present circumstances of time and affairs considered, and the necessity of composing the disturbed minds of the people."* So far as the Catholics were concerned, Charles made no scruple to evade the execution of the act, the weight of which fell most heavily upon the Dissenters.

(o) It is remarkable that all the penal laws passed in this parliament against the Dissenters, were accompanied by liberal grants of money. The Act of Uniformity coincided with the gift of hearth-money; four subsidies followed the revocation of the King's first Indulgence; and the improvement of the tax of hearth-money, with the repeal of the triennial act, were the rewards of the royal assent to the severe acts against Conventicles. *Somerville's Political Transactions, p. 58, n.*

The leaders of the dissenting party went farther than the Earl of Bristol; for they supported the act by their votes as well as by their speeches, being willing to sacrifice themselves and their friends, so that they might accomplish the ruin of the Catholics. For this more than Roman virtue, they have been applauded by different parties; but the present writer must view it as a very questionable sort of heroism, dictated neither by justice nor prudence, but partaking of the worst qualities of the religion they so much dreaded. Whatever danger existed from the Papists, it was a question that concerned those only who were to lose by their ascendancy. The Dissenters had not only suffered in their political rights, but were persecuted by their Protestant brethren with relentless fury; if these, therefore, were unable alone to defend their possessions, the others should have exacted some terms for themselves before they made common cause with their oppressors. For their simple conduct in abandoning their own rights as men and Christians, when a favorable opportunity offered for reclaiming them, they not only brought a yoke upon themselves, but entailed bondage upon their posterity. (P)

The patriotism of the Dissenters in resisting the dispensing power is warmly eulogized by De Foe. But, averse as he was to the religion of the Catholics, for whose benefit it was exercised, he was not insensible to their political wrongs. "Ever since the coming of King James the First to the crown," says he, "this nation has been perplexed with divisions, oppresions, and murmurings, both in sovereign and subject. The chief moving engine of all this has been that child of the devil, persecution; which has been used either as a church-handle or a state-handle, to make the people uneasy, their union being thought dangerous to the government. And here, let me do justice to the English Catholics. The danger of the church has been the mask for persecution all along, and when the divisions in it have run to rash extremes, the poor Papists were the victims. Then, specious declarations, sham speeches, and large addresses frequently passed between kings and parliaments, to prevent the growth of Popery, and banish Papists from within ten miles of the city, though they never troubled their heads to stir in those cases, nor indeed had they any occasion. They knew the jest too well; the business was quite of another sort. The court, engaged in daily encroachments upon the public liberties, found no way so effectual to keep their thoughts employed upon other things as setting them in a flame at each other: letting loose first one party, and then another. To day there was a persecution, to-morrow illegal liberty; at one time, the Church of England was set upon the back of the Dissenters; at another, the Dissenter was tempted with his religious liberty at the price of his civil rights. Thus, there was persecuting without law, and tolerating against law."

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* Rapin ii. 670.

(P) Since this work was written, the Test Act has been abolished by consent of Parliament. But most of the writer's remarks in connexion with that badge of slavery being directed to the time in which it was enacted, remain in full force; no language being too strong to paint the iniquity of the act, and the wickedness of the men who promoted it. He is happy to have outlived the time when the Church of England has redeemed herself from this disgrace, and that his lot is cast in a period when the higher offices in the church are sustained by men of better temper and better principles than can be awarded to many of their predecessors.

Alluding to the conduct of the Dissenters, De Foe says:—"I cannot pass this without remarking upon a speech made by that truly English Roman, Mr. Alderman *Love,* for many years member of parliament for the City of London, and generally chosen with the most unanimous consent of voices ever known, a speech which ought to have been written in letters of gold, and remembered to the honour of his family as long as citizens and parliaments remain. King Charles II. had, by a proclamation, taken off the persecution from the Dissenters, and given them liberty of conscience; and, having been horribly plundered and ill-treated, they greedily and unwarily embraced their liberty, built meeting-houses, and thronged to them in public. When the parliament met, great discourses and warm debates were made against the king's dispensing with the laws, and setting up his proclamation against an act of parliament.

"Mr. *Love* vigorously opposed it, and pressed the Commons to declare the proclamation arbitrary and illegal. In this he was taken up very short by a member of the court-party, who if I remember right, was Sir Joseph Williamson, with these words: 'Why, Mr. Love, you are a Dissenter yourself; it's very ungrateful that you who receive the benefit should object against the manner.' The substance of Mr. Love's reply, as near as I remember the words, was this: 'I am a Dissenter, and thereby unhappily obnoxious to the law; and if you catch me in the corn, you may put me into the pound. The law against the Dissenters I should be glad to see repealed by the same authority that made it; but while it is a law, the king cannot repeal it by proclamation: And, I had much rather see the Dissenters suffer by the rigour of the law, though I suffer with them than see all the laws in England trampled under the foot of the prerogative, as in this example: And I hope the Dissenters understand their liberty, as Englishmen, better than to accept it in an illegal manner.'

"These facts," observes De Foe, "let us into the secret that the persecution of Dissenters has been all along the effect of state-policy, more than an error of zeal, or a mistake of religion; and 'tis for the honour of the Dissenters that they have ever opposed their own advantages of liberty, rather than accept of them at the expence of their civil rights." He further remarks, that "the clamour against the Papists was only made a handle to trick all parties, and to gull them into the fatal mischiefs they did not foresee. No just government in the world," he observes, "would persecute merely for conscience-sake; the very principle is in its own nature anti-Christian and unnatural: it has very seldom been carried on any where from mere zeal, but with a complication of private ends, intrigues, and all kinds of abstracted villainy."*

The bishops had no sooner recovered from their apprehensions of a rival hierarchy, than the whole clergy was instructed to declare that there was no longer any danger from the Papists. The fanatics, as Dissenting Protestants were then called, became the only dangerous enemy, and were made to feel the weight of the arm that oppressed them. Orders were given to the judges in all their circuits to quicken the execution of the laws against Dissenters. A new declaration was published, directed mostly against the Papists; but the execution of it fell upon the Non-conformists. A commission was also directed to the principal gentlemen of each county, to seize the estates of both Papists and fanatics mentioned in a list annexed:—"Wherein, by great misfortune or skill," says Mr. Locke, "the names of Papists of best quality and fortune, and so best known, were mistaken, and the commission rendered ineffectual as to them." Great pains were taken to alarm the nation with cries of sedition; that it was fast running into *forty-one*; and it was still gravely asserted that the church was in danger. To support these delusions, hired writers prostituted their pens; whilst those who ventured to unmask their falsehoods, were prosecuted for publishing unlicensed pamphlets. It was also given out that no one would receive any countenance from the court, who did not enter heartily into all its measures.

One of the steps resorted to by the court for the extension of arbitrary power was the employment of spies and informers, and the invention of sham plots, which formed a pretext for getting rid of its troublesome opponents. By such means, some of the best blood in the nation was spilt upon the scaffold, or by private assassination. "Nothing is more certain," says De Foe, "than that in the late reigns, evidence was first suborned and procured to invent crimes, and form a charge, and juries were packed to bring the persons in guilty, right or wrong; by which means innocent men were hurried to execution in sundry places. Innumerable oppressions, murthers, and invasions of property followed; and the Parliament of England has been put to the trouble of reversing the sentences and attainders of such persons as suffered by the exorbitant and cruel proceedings of those times, thereby tacitly declaring the said executions to be murther in their nature, and illegal in their method."*

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* Review ii. 170—1.

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* Review ii. 333.

CHAPTER V.

Boldness and Indiscretion of the Catholics.—Address of the King.—Popish Plot.—Involved in Mystery.—Sensation produced by the Discovery.—Sir William Temple's Account of it.—Expectation of the Catholics at this Time.—Reasonably grounded.—Their turn to suffer.—Violence of the Parliament.—Character of Titus Oates.—Many Catholics put to Death. The King's cold-blooded Cruelty.—He ridicules the Plot.—And employs Papists.—De Foe's Reflections upon the Popish Plot.—His Description of a Protestant Flail. Carries one himself.—He enlists early in the Popular Party.—Curious Instance of Credulity.—Change in the Temper of the Nation.—De Foe's Account of the Origin of Whig and Tory.—He is present at a Meeting with Oates and Bedloe.—The Duke of York openly professes himself a Catholic.—The Bishops attempt his Conversion.—Their curious Interview.—Project in Parliament to set aside the Duke.—The King's fraudulent Conduct towards the Dissenters.—A Spirit of Liberty awakened.—De Foe's Reflections upon the Bill of Exclusion.—The King Attacks the Charters.—In which he is defended by Sprat.—His curious Notion of Providence.—The City resigns its Charter.—De Foe's Account of the Proceedings in Common-Hall.—Sham Plots.—Coke's Remark upon them.—Many Patriots sacrificed.—De Foe's Remarks upon the Death of Sydney.—And upon the Infatuation of the Times.—Johnson's Remarks upon the Death of Stephen College.

1678—1683.

The epidemical disease of the times was a dread of popery. Inspired with the hope of seeing their religion once more restored under the sanction of a prince of their own faith, it is no wonder if the Catholics acquired boldness, and gave way to acts of indiscretion. "The Papists," observes an English historian, "became every day more and more elated; and, in order to conceal their own dissensions, made heavy complaints of the Dissenters. They were full of boasting, and often maltreated their adversaries; laying their own crimes to the charge of others. However, the London Dissenters supported themselves by their integrity, and the rights of citizens."* The same writer says, "The Papists, in defiance of the law, went about in arms, behaving with insolence, and boasting of foreign assistance. The ancient laws passed against them, through the king's connivance, were not put in execution. Hence, they became so audacious, as even to make preparations for war. Whereupon, the Commons made loud clamours against the artifices of the court; saying, the king himself was not sufficiently secured, and that his person was now in danger."†

All this was in the natural course of things; for the parliament had divided, and thereby weakened the Protestant interest, and had betrayed the constitution into the hands of a prince, whose intentions were too glaring to be mistaken. In eluding the complaints that were now so loudly expressed against the Papists, the king displayed his usual address, amusing the people with jests and diversions, and setting the Protestants at variance amongst themselves. All his exertions, however, could not repress the rising torrent.

But whatever real danger existed from the Papists, it was greatly aggravated by the bigotry of Protestants, whose credulity kept pace with their intolerance. With minds so well prepared by prejudice, there wanted but little to convince them of the reality of a plot that has never been sufficiently established, and must therefore be recorded amongst the dark events of this inglorious reign. The king's government, being directed to dishonest purposes, was carried on wholly by mystery and intrigue. Sham plots were continually invented, and charged to the account of the Presbyterians or Papists, as best suited the design; but whilst these found amusement for the parties that invented them, and fed the prejudices of others, the Court was conspiring to subvert the liberties of the nation.

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* Cunningham's Great Brit. i. 29. † Ibid, p. 48.

That a plot was now on foot to overturn the Protestant religion, was no new discovery; for it had been in existence from the moment the king ascended the throne, and he had himself performed the part of chief conspirator. The lapse of time, assisted by desperation at delay, would have a tendency to ripen it for execution; but that there was any design at this time to remove the king by means of assassination, is beyond the bounds of credibility, unless, indeed, it was the manufacture of France. Charles's temporizing policy, and the little dependance that was to be placed upon his engagements, were no secret to the French king, who might justly think that he was not to be trusted, and that he might make a better market of his brother. The jesuits who made no scruple to sanction such a method for the furtherance of their religion, stimulated by zeal, and assisted by a knowledge of the disposition of James, might enter into such a view of the subject; but whether this was the case or not, it is certain that Charles entertained no apprehensions from that quarter.(P)

It was the year 1678 that gave birth to what historians have termed the Popish plot, the professed object of which is said to have been the murder of the king, and the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion. Although the accounts given of it bore upon their face the most improbable

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(P) The feelings of the Catholics at this time, may be illustrated by the following anecdote. "Sir Ellis Leighton used to go over into France in the time of King Charles the Second's government, only to curse it out of hearing, and to give himself that vent abroad, which was not so safe at home. The burden of his complaint was, That whereas the king had promised to set up the Roman Catholic religion, which he might do by the strength of his guards every day, he would rather play a d---d long church game, which would last longer than his life. It proved so (adds the relator) but for all that it was a wiser game than his successor's, who opened shop too soon, and seemed to be in haste in every thing he did." *Johnson's Notes to the Pastoral Letter*, p. 4.

and contradictory circumstances, and even attested by men of profligate character, they nevertheless obtained very general credit, and aroused the nation to a degree of fury that bordered upon madness. The extraordinary sensation produced by its discovery, is thus described by Sir William Temple: " I never saw greater disturbances at home, than had been raised by the plot, and the pursuit of it in the parliament; and observed, that though it was generally believed by both houses, by city and country, by clergy and laity; yet, when I talked with some of my friends in private, who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet mysterious; that they could not say the king believed it; but, however, that the parliament and nation were so generally and strongly possessed with it, that it must of necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it was so or no."* This extraordinary confession, whilst it speaks volumes upon the subject, forcibly illustrates the policy of this reign.

It happened unfortunately for the English Catholics, that their expectations were at this time raised to a very high pitch; but founded more upon the encouragement of the court, than upon any design against it. Coleman, secretary to the Duke of York, in a letter to Father Le Chaise, observes, " We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms; and, by that, perhaps, the subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has domineered over a great part of this northern world a long time." He adds, " There was never such hopes of success since the death of Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a prince who is become zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work!"† For their anxiety to see the re-establishment of their religion, no one can reasonably blame the Catholics; it was in their judgment the only true religion, and as such, the fittest to be taken under the protection of the civil power. Besides this, the temporalities annexed to the church-establishment were a prize worth contending for; and, being at the disposal of the crown, would be most properly bestowed upon persons of the same faith. These arguments naturally occurred to the Catholics, and were sanctioned by the ecclesiastical politics of the times; the vengeance of the parliament, therefore, should have been directed against those who fed them with hopes of success.

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* Temple's Works, ii. 491.

† Coleman's Second Letter, p. 21.

Hitherto, the Papists had suffered but little from the rigorous laws that had been enacted against the proscribed sects, the weight of which had fallen chiefly upon Protestants. It was now their turn, however, to reap some of the fruits of an exclusive establishment; but whether they suffered as traitors, or as martyrs, there have been different opinions.

The violence manifested in the detection of this supposed plot, was no where more conspicuous than in the proceedings of parliament. The Commons committed one of their own members for disparaging the evidence: they also drew up articles of impeachment against five Popish lords, who had been committed upon the information of Titus Oates; and brought in a bill for the banishment of all Papists at least twenty miles from London, confining those at a distance within five miles of their habitations. Those who expressed any doubts of the plot, or refused implicit assent to their proceedings, were threatened with summary vengeance; whilst a bounty was held out to the profligate, to assume the character of informers. The sum of five hundred pounds was voted to Bedloe; and Oates had a pension assigned him of twelve hundred pounds a year, with apartments at Whitehall. (Q) Many Popish priests, Jesuits, and others, paid the

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(Q) "Titus Oates, who was restrained by no principle, human or divine, forfeit of their lives upon infamous or insufficient evidence; but the most costly sacrifices were the innocent Lord Stafford and the amiable Plunkett, titular primate of Ireland. The Duke of York, who had been sent to Scotland, as Lord High Commissioner, made a journey to England, in order to intercede for the condemned prisoners; but Charles, although fully satisfied of their innocence, denied his request, saying, "he would not be forced to travel abroad again."* The king, indeed, ridiculed the plot from the beginning, but was willing to purchase his ease by submitting to the popular delusion. So little apprehension had he from the Papists, that in the midst of the investigation, he granted no less than fifty-seven commissions to Popish recusants for raising soldiers, with a dispensation from the oaths and the test: these being countersigned by Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state, who asserted that the king might keep guards if he could pay them, the Commons committed him to the Tower; from whence the king discharged him the next day, with a reprimand to those who had sent him there.

With all the antipathy of the times against persons of the Romish persuasion, De Foe had but an indifferent idea of the plot. He records, with just suspicion, the violent management of that affair, and exposes the extravagant apprehensions that were entertained upon the subject. "I must own," says he, "I do not come up to all the extravagancies of some people in their notions of the Popish plot. I firmly believe,

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and like Judas, would have done any thing for thirty shillings, was," says Mr. Grainger, "one of the most accomplished villains that we read of in history. He had been chaplain on board the fleet, from whence he was dismissed for an unnatural crime, and was known to be guilty of perjury before he set up the trade of witnessing. He was a man of some cunning, more effrontery, and most consummate falsehood; and he has the peculiar infamy of being the first of incendiaries, as he was the first of witnesses." Roger North gives a curious description of his person: "his mouth was the centre of his face, and a compass there would sweep his nose, forehead and chin, within the perimeter. *Cave quos ipse Deus notavit.*"

* Cunningham's Great Brit. i. 49.

agreeable to the unanimous vote of the parliament in November 1678, that there was a horrid and bloody conspiracy set on foot, and carried on by the Papists, for the subversion of the government both in Church and State, for the bringing in Popery, and for the overthrow and extirpation of the Protestant religion; and considering the Papists as such, I neither wonder at it, nor so much blame them. I never blame men, at least not so much, who professing principles destructive of the constitution they live under, and believing it their just right to supplant it, act in conformity to the principles they profess. I believe if I were a Papist, I should do the same; and believing the merit of it would carry me to heaven, I doubt not should go as far as another. Such men as these give fair warning of what you ought to expect from them, and 'tis your own fault if you do not expect it. But the men of treason and falsehood are such as first pretend to be of, or revolt to a party, and then betray it. These are the wolves in sheep's clothing.

"But to return to the Popish plot. Though I say as above, I did firmly believe the reality of the plot; yet, when we ran up that plot to general massacres, fleets of pilgrims, bits and bridles, knives, hand-cuffs, and a thousand such things, which people generally talk of, I confess, though a boy, I could not then, nor can now come up to them. And my reasons were, as they still are, because I see no reason to believe the Papists to be fools, whatever else we had occasion to think of them. I cannot, indeed, spare room to examine the weakness of the notion of a general massacre in England, where the Papists all over the kingdom are not five to a hundred, in some counties not one, and within the city hardly one to a thousand. But, 'tis plain, these notions prevailed to a strange excess, made our city blunderbusses to be all new burnished, hat and feathers, shoulder-belt, and all our military gew-gaws came in mode again, till the city trained bands began to be so rampant, that, like other standing armies, they began to ride upon their masters, and trampled under foot the liberty of that very city they were raised to defend. They were made engines of oppression and disorder, disturbed meeting-houses, possessed the Guildhall, chose sheriffs, got drunk upon guard, abused the citizens upon their rounds, and their prodigal drunken sentinels murdered several people upon pretence they would not stand at their command. In a popular city, it was impossible but innocent people, either ignorant or perhaps in drink, might run themselves into danger, not imagining they had to do with brutes that would kill their fellow-citizens for such trifles, with the same severity as if in an enemy's country, or on the frontiers."*

In those days of lawless violence, it was hazardous for an honest man to appear in the streets by night, and many carried arms about them for their protection. De Foe, who was a spectator of these events, gives a curious description of a weapon then in use, from which some idea may be formed of the character of the times. "I remember," says he, "in the time of the Popish plot, when murthering men in the dark was pretty much in fashion, and every honest man walked the streets in danger of his life, a very pretty invention was found out, which soon put an end to the doctrine of assassination, and the practice too, and cleared our streets of the murthering villains of those days; this was a *Protestant flail.* Now, a Protestant flail is an excellent weapon—a pistol is a fool to it; it laughs at the sword or the cane; for you know there's no fence against a flail. For my part, I have frequently walked with one about me in the old Popish days, and though I never set up for a hero, yet, when armed with this scourge for a Papist, I remember I feared nothing. So excellent a weapon it is, that really the very apprehension of it soon put an end to the murthers and assassinations that then began to be practised in the streets and otherwise; as upon Godfrey, Arnold, Julian Johnson, and others. I remember I saw an honest stout fellow, who is yet alive, with one of these Protestant instruments, exercise seven or eight ruffians in Fleet-street, and drive them all before him quite from Fleet-Bridge into White-Friars, which was their receptacle; and he handled it so decently that you would wonder when now and then one or two of them came within his reach, and got a knock, to see how they would dance: nay, so humble and complaisant were they, that every now and then they would kiss the very ground at his feet; nor would they scruple descending even to the kennel itself, if they received but the word of command from this most Protestant utensil."*

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* Review, ii. 498—9.

De Foe had early enlisted himself upon the popular side in politics, and engaging in them with all the ardour of youthful blood, his genius and activity soon raised him to distinction in his party. It is highly probable from some circumstances he has recorded, that he was better informed upon the subject of the Popish plot, than he has chosen to tell us. Certain it is, that he was acquainted with some of the witnesses, particularly with Titus Oates; and we have his own testimony, that he attended some private meetings in the city, for the purpose of counteracting the attempts that were made to tamper with the witnesses.† When the passions of men were cooled down by time, or diverted into another channel, the story of the plot grew into discredit, as we learn from De Foe himself. "I shall not examine," says he, "what artifice gave so strange a turn to affairs, that what with the cunning of the criminals, the mean character of the evidence, and the chagrin of the great ones, that storm blew over, and the notion of a plot became the common banter of the age."‡(R)

* Review, viii. 614.

† Ibid, vii. 297.

‡ Ibid, ii. 202.

(R) The absurd lengths to which credulity was carried with respect to the

It has been remarked by one of our historians, that "the discovery of the Popish plot had great and various effects upon the nation: and 'tis from this remarkable period of time we may justly reckon a new era in the English account. In the first place, it awakened the nation out of a deep lethargy they had been in for nineteen years together, and alarmed them with fears and jealousies that have been found to our sad experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave rise to, at least settled that unhappy distinction of Whig and Tory among the people of England, that has since occasioned so many mischiefs. And lastly, the discovery of the Popish plot, began that open struggle between King Charles and his people that occasioned him not only to dissolve his first favourite parliament, and the three others that succeeded, but likewise to call no more during the rest of his reign; all which made way for bringing in question the charters of London, and other corporations, with a great many dismal effects that followed. It was likewise about this time, that a certain set of men began a second time to adopt into our religion a Mahometan principle, under the names of passive obedience and non-resistance, which, since

designs of the Papists, is illustrated by De Foe in a curious dialogue that took place between a friend of his, and some stranger, at a public tavern in the city. Conversing upon the news of the day, the stranger, who was possessed with fearful notions of the machinations of the "Papishes," had his curiosity worked up to the highest pitch, when the other related the following story: "That last night, six Frenchmen came up and stole away the monument, and but for the watch, who stopped them as they were going over the bridge, and made them carry it back again, they might, for aught we know, have carried it over into France. These Papists," adds he, "will never have done!" The man stared, as he well might, at the wonderful tale, and seemed loth to believe it; till De Foe coming into the room, and corroborating the story, with the addition, that he might satisfy his doubts by going to the spot, and seeing the workmen employed in making it fast again, the simple man swallowed the joke, and departed quite satisfied. *Review*, iv. 530—1.

the time of the impostor that first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world."*

Some of the circumstances here mentioned, are noticed by De Foe in reference to events that befel himself. The origin of Whig and Tory, and the first application of those terms to parties in this country, are thus described by him.

"The word *Tory* is Irish, and was first made use of there in the time of Queen Elizabeth's wars in Ireland. It signified a kind of robber, who being listed in neither army, preyed in general upon the country, without distinction of English or Spaniard. In the Irish massacre, anno 1641, you had them in great numbers, assisting in everything that was bloody and villainous, and particularly, when humanity prevailed upon some of the Papists to preserve Protestant relations. These were such as chose to butcher brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, the dearest friends and nearest relations: these were called *Tories*. In England, about the year 1680, a party of men appeared among us, who, though pretended Protestants, yet applied themselves to the ruin and destruction of their country. They began with ridiculing the Popish plot, and encouraging the Papists to revive it. They pursued their designs in banishing the Duke of Monmouth, and calling home the Duke of York; then in abhorring, petitioning, and opposing the bill of exclusion; in giving up charters, and the liberties of their country to the arbitrary will of their prince; then in murthering patriots, persecuting Dissenters, and at last in setting up a Popish prince on pretence of hereditary right, and tyranny, on pretence of passive obedience. These men, for their criminal preying upon their country, and their cruel bloody disposition, began to shew themselves so like the Irish thieves and murtherers aforesaid, that they quickly got the name of Tories. Their real god-father was Titus

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* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 102.

Oates, and the occasion of his giving them the name as follows: the author of this happened to be present. There was a meeting of some honest people in the city, upon the occasion of the discovery of some attempt to stifle the evidence of the witnesses, and tampering with Bedloe and Stephen Dugdale. Among the discourse, Mr. Bedloe said, he had letters from Ireland, that there were some Tories to be brought over hither who were privately to murther Dr. Oates, and the said Bedloe. The Doctor, whose zeal was very hot, could never hear any man after this talk against the plot, or against the witnesses, but he thought he was one of these Tories, and called almost every man a Tory that opposed him in discourse; till at last the word Tory became popular, and it stuck so close to the party in all their bloody proceedings, that they had no way to get it off; so at last they owned it, just as they do now the name of high-flyer.

"As to the word Whig," continues De Foe, "it is Scots. The use of it began there when the western men, called Cameronians, took arms frequently for their religion. Whig was a word used in those parts for a kind of liquor the western Highland-men used to drink, whose composition I do not remember; (s) and so became common to the people that drank it. It afterwards became a denomination to the poor harassed people of that part of the country, who being unmercifully persecuted by the government, against all law and justice, thought they had a civil right to their religious liberties, and therefore frequently resisted the arbitrary power of their princes. These men, tired with innumerable oppressions, ravishings, murthers, and plunderings, took up arms about the year 1681, being the famous insurrection at Bothwell-bridge. The Duke of Monmouth, then in favour here, was sent against them by King Charles, and defeated them. At his return, instead of thanks for the good service, he found himself ill-treated for using them too mercifully; and Duke Lauderdale told King Charles with an oath, that the Duke had been so civil to Whigs because he was a Whig himself in his heart. This made it a court-word; and in a little while, all the friends and followers of the Duke began to be called Whigs: and they, as the other party did by the word Tory, took it freely enough to themselves."*

(s) It was the refuse, or what was called the whig of the milk, which the poorest people in Scotland used to carry to market, their wretchedness not allowing them to give it to their cattle.—*North's Examen.* A Tory writer of that time defines it to be sour milk, and he says, "it was formerly appropriated to what is still more sour, a Scotch Presbyterian!"—*Caveat against the Whigs,* part I. p. 73.

The Duke of York having lately united himself in marriage to a Popish princess, who was declared in consequence a daughter of France, and having openly avowed himself of the Catholic religion, the prospect of his succession spread alarm throughout the nation. This was farther increased by his political conduct; it being well known that he was at the bottom of the most obnoxious measures of his brother's government. Even the bishops themselves seemed to participate in a sense of the common danger. For this, indeed, they had ample reason; there being every probability that the emoluments of their church would be transferred to those who favored the religion of their future sovereign. To guard against a consequence so much dreaded, it was resolved to attempt his conversion to the Protestant faith. The agents for conducting this arduous work, were the bishops Sancroft and Morley, who, according to previous arrangement, were admitted to an audience the 21st of February, 1678. In a long rhapsodical address, which, in the mouth of a Puritan, would have been branded for cant and blasphemy, they recounted the miseries of their church, and the danger to which she stood exposed by his desertion from her communion. The Duke, who received them with politeness, listened to their discourse with patience, and praised their good intention; telling them that he had not changed his religion without due consideration, but that want of leisure would prevent him from entering into any discussion with them upon the subject.(T)

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* Review, vii. 296—7.

In order to save the nation from the danger of a Popish successor, the popular party which then prevailed in the House of Commons, formed a project for excluding the Duke from the throne, and passed a bill for that purpose; but it was thrown out in the Lords. Motives of policy now dictated a more humane line of conduct towards the Dissenters. For the purpose of strengthening the Protestant interest, a bill was brought into the Commons, repealing the penal laws enacted by the statute of Elizabeth, and it quickly passed both houses. The king, being resolved to defeat it, but not daring openly to withhold his assent, had recourse to the mean and fraudulent artifice of procuring the bill to be abstracted

(T) The following curious passage, amusing for its absurdity, formed a part of the discourse. In laying before him "the many grievances and just complaints of our common mother, the holy, but most afflicted Church of England," they say; "If there be now in the world a church to whom that eulogium, that she is a lily among thorns, is due and proper, it is this church of which we are members, as it stands reformed now and established amongst us; the purest certainly upon earth, as being purified from those many corruptions and abuses which the lapse of time, the malice of the devil, and the wickedness of men, had introduced insensibly into the doctrine and worship and government of it. But then withal this lily of purity hath, for these many years, (by the malicious and subtle machinations of her restless and implacable enemies), been surrounded by thorns on every side; and even to this day she bears in her body the marks of the Lord Jesus, the scars of the old, and the impression of new and more dangerous wounds; and so fills up daily that which is behind of the sufferings of her crucified Saviour."* There is an old proverb, 'That every one speaks well of the bridge which carries him safely over.' In this there may be no great harm; but to talk of the afflictions of a church that was in the height of worldly prosperity, that had every security which legislation could give to her, and that trampled with savage fury upon the rights of other Christians, argues a degree of effrontery that is not very common.

* D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, i. 166.

from the parcel in which it was inserted with many others for the royal assent. This was a clear manifestation of his insincerity in all his previous declarations for liberty of conscience, and plainly pointed out the end he proposed by them. But this shameful departure from dignity and honor excited a just indignation, and widened the breach between the king and his parliament; further supplies were withheld, and its sitting was terminated with some angry votes against the measures of the court. In the next parliament, which met at Oxford, the bill of exclusion was again revived; but this and other measures being as little satisfactory to the king as those of the former, it was hastily dissolved. Thus, in the space of twenty-six months, the king put an end to four parliaments; and, notwithstanding his solemn promise in a declaration published soon afterwards, and ordered by Sancroft to be read in all the churches, he never called another during the remainder of his reign.

A considerable change had now taken place in the temper of the nation. The designs of the court, and the scandalous measures resorted to for their furtherance, awakened a spirit of liberty, which was strongly marked in the proceedings of parliament; but which the court took the most violent and disgraceful methods to repress. Of this, the case of Sir John Coventry furnished a flagrant instance. Others of a more sanguinary description were soon to follow.

De Foe, who was a warm advocate for the bill of exclusion, draws a melancholy picture of the events that followed its rejection. "How earnestly," says he, "did those honest men, whose eyes God had opened to see the danger, labour to prevent the mischiefs of a Popish tyranny? How did they struggle in parliament and out of parliament to exclude a prince that did not mock them, but really promised them, in as plain language as actions could speak, that he would be a tyrant, that he would erect arbitrary power upon the foot of our liberties, as soon as he had the reins in his hands? How were the opposers of this inundation oppressed by power, and borne down in the stream of it? And when they were massacred by that bloody generation, how did they warn us at their deaths of the mischiefs that were coming? Yet, all this while, deaf as the adder to the voice of the charmer, stupid and hard as the nether mill-stone, we would not believe, nor put our hand to our deliverance, till that same Popery, that same tyranny, and that very party we struggled with, were sent to be our instructors; and then we learnt the lesson presently. Tyranny taught us the value of liberty; oppression, how to prize the fence of laws; and Popery shewed us the danger of the Protestant religion. Then, passive pulpits beat the ecclesiastical drum of war; absolute subjection took up arms; and obedience for conscience-sake resisted divine right. And who taught them this heterodox lesson? Truly, the very same schoolmaster they had hanged us for telling them of, the same dispensing power they had enacted, and the same tyranny they had murthered us for opposing."*

There is a tide in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals: such was the case at this time; but the change was of portentous import to England. Encouraged by the loyal addresses which now poured in upon him from various quarters, the king resolved to govern with a high hand, and to revenge himself for the supposed affronts he had received from his parliament. His first step was an attack upon the charters of corporate bodies, in which he was supported by the judges, and defended by Sprat, a time-serving prelate, who prostituted his pen to the support of tyranny and injustice. This bishop ascribes it to the providence of God, that so many corporations were induced to resign their charters; "lest the abuse of any of them should prove hazardous to the just prerogatives of the crown. He tells us, that his majesty esteemed this triumph over his people, "as the peculiar honor of his reign;" and that "as he has hitherto begun to shew the greatest benignity and moderation in the exercise of so great a trust, so he is still the surest guardian of all the people's lawful rights and privileges!"* It is no wonder that kings do wrong when they are surrounded by such sycophants. Sprat had as mean notions of liberty as he had of Providence, which he bent equally to his purpose, whether as the flatterer of Cromwell, or as the pander to Charles's tyrrany. The infamy of this man was blazoned by himself after the revolution, when to save his revenues, he retracted some of the falsehoods he had published to the world, in subserviency to the designs of the court.

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* Review, iv. 643—4.

The influence of the Whigs in the city of London proved a great annoyance to the court; for, so long as the election of the sheriffs was subjected to popular choice, juries could not be packed, nor obnoxious individuals sacrificed by the ordinary forms of law. It became necessary, therefore, to devise some expedient for the purpose of getting rid of the inconvenience. By the charter of the city, the election of the sheriffs was vested in the Common-hall; but it had been the usual practice to elect as one of them, the person who was drank to by the lord mayor, a precedent which the court now turned to its advantage. One of the abuses resulting from this privilege was that of levying heavy fines upon the wealthy citizens, it being known before-hand that they would rather fine than serve the office, for which it was notorious that in some cases they were unfit. Sir John Moor, who was chosen mayor for the year 1681—2, having been secured by the court, was instigated to claim as a right, that which the livery had hitherto conceded as a compliment; but the citizens not submitting to it tamely, the Common-hall became a scene of disturbance. For continuing the poll after the business had been illegally disposed of by the mayor, the sheriffs Pilkington and Shute were committed to the Tower; and being tried and convicted, were heavily fined. Violence being now substituted for law, the court candidates carried the point; as was the case, by similar management, in the subsequent choice of a mayor. In this barefaced manner the government of the city came under the direction of the court; but as the elections were only for a time, to save trouble in future, it was determined at once to reclaim the charter. A *quo warranto* was accordingly issued upon some frivolous pretences, and after the form of a trial in the King's-bench, the city was compelled to resign its liberties.*

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* Harris's Charles II. ii. 346.

The disgraceful proceedings above-mentioned, are thus animadverted upon by De Foe: "I remember in former days, when Whigs were men of sense, knew their own privileges, and had courage to defend them, this way of drinking men into the chair of magistracy was hissed off the stage; and the pretence of its being the prerogative of the chair was exposed, as it deserved, for the most ridiculous thing in the world. It was made to appear as an upstart invasion of the city magistracy upon the Common-hall, that is, upon the rights of the liverymen of London. In several ingenious as well as pointed tracts written on that subject, it was proved to be the undoubted right of the liverymen of London, in Common-hall, to choose two sheriffs every Midsummer-day. When Sir John Moor, who was the first that made the experiment of drinking a sheriff into the chair, imposed upon the city in the case of Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, (u) many that are alive now and can remember it, aided and assisted in that great assembly (perhaps the greatest that ever was before or since), to cry *no confirmation, no lord-mayor tyranny,* &c. So did right prevail, and the zeal of the citizens for their legal, well-known privileges appear, that Sir John Moor, assisted and supported by the court-tyranny of those days, was forced to carry on his new-invented imposition by setting a guard of soldiers at the hall door, and suffering none to go in but his own party; an act which was justly abhorred by the very Tories themselves, and which was famous for this, that it converted more Tories into Whigs, than any thing that had been done in twenty years before."*

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* Burnet's Own Time, ii. 179, &c.

(u) The gentlemen above-named were of the popular party; the court-candidates, who were forced upon the city, were North and Rich.

The example of London gave confidence to the court to proceed in a similar way with other corporations, which surrendered their charters with little or no resistance, and gave the crown a paramount influence in future elections. This was the most important triumph the court could obtain; for it afforded the means, by packed juries, to get rid of any obnoxious individual. As the judges held their appointments at the king's pleasure, he was careful to select those who could be depended upon, and they justified his choice by the grossest acts of perverted justice. With the liberties of the nation laid thus at his feet, it was not difficult to accomplish the ruin of the most cautious patriot; and the invention of a plot, of which there were several at this period, would afford a colourable pretence for such a proceeding.

The year 1683 was fatal to the liberties of England. It opened with the death of Shaftesbury, who had sought refuge in Holland; and was stained with the blood of the most virtuous patriots celebrated in history. It was also memorable for the infamous decree of the University of Oxford, which brought the sanctions of religion to the support of slavery.

From the time of the Popish plot, which there was a serious attempt to fasten upon the Presbyterians, the nation was continually alarmed with discoveries of a similar nature. Nothing can exceed in infamy the history of these plots; for whether we consider the methods used in their manufacture, the evidence by which they were sustained, or the mockery of justice and the wanton waste of life that accompanied them, we must look upon the agents concerned, as amongst the most abandoned wretches that ever polluted the earth. It was in one of these pit-falls for the innocent, that Stephen College was barbarously murdered under the form of law. But more noble blood remained to be sacrificed; and the Rye-house plot was an easy contrivance for the purpose. Its object is said to have been the assassination of the king; but this was amongst the least of Charles's apprehensions, as appears by the following story: being admonished by the Duke of York for going out unattended by his guards, he said, "Brother, they will never kill me to make you king."

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* Review, viii. 206.

The meetings that had been occasionally held by the Whigs since the cessation of parliaments, and where the concerns of the nation were freely discussed, gave rise to a suspicion that some of them were concerned in the plot; but their real offence was their zeal for the bill of exclusion. Sunk as the nation was in apathy, and degraded by crime, there were not wanting individuals who were alive to her interests, and alarmed for her safety. For the destruction of these, a plot was an easy contrivance; and there were three such at this time: but, as Coke observes, "In all these plots, for aught I can find, the fox was the finder." The same author says, "The great design was upon my Lord of Essex, and my Lord Russell; one, the most eminent of the nobility for his great honour and all eminent virtues; the other of the Commons; and both zealous Protestants, and opponents to the design of introducing Popery and arbitrary power."* The fate of Lord Essex is as mysterious as the plot for which he was sacrificed: Russell and Sydney died upon the scaffold, victims to the hate of a remorseless tyranny.(x)

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* Coke's Detection, ii. 315.

The death of these noble persons was followed by many inferior sacrifices; and others who could not be reached by any pretence of treason, were ruined by exorbitant fines. Thus, the liberties of England were destroyed by a faithless tyrant, who established his throne by perfidy, and cemented it with the blood of his people.

The blindness of the nation in submitting to the government of this despicable prince, is thus pictured by De Foe: "This blindness so spread itself that we could hardly see good from evil. We could discern no mischief in a debauched court, or an immoral nation; in encroaching tyrannies, unnatural persecutions, or illegal tolerations. We saw no evil in lending our forces to a French Popish monarch to oppress Protestant states; in selling Dunkirk, demolishing Tangiers, and in sending models of our ships, with hired builders, to France, to instruct the French how to raise their naval strength beyond our power of beating them. To go on, we saw no mischief in disfranchising corporations, test-binding our magistrates, and in giving up our natural liberties; in bribing the electors, and pensioning the elected; and a thousand such things practised in those times. So dark was our understanding, that we were brought to embrace shadows for substance, bondage for liberty, tyranny for law, and a Popish prince to defend the Protestant religion; and when some honest men attempted to enlighten us, we gave them up to be murthered by the authors of our blindness. Such was the fate of Russell, of Sydney, of Cornish, of Armstrong, of College, and of many more."*(Y)

(x) De Foe has the following just reflections upon the death of Sydney. "Algernon Sydney, an ancient branch of the noble family of the Sydneys, and brother to the then Earl of Leicester, drew out a true system of original power, and the stated bounds of government and subjection by the laws of God, nature, and reason; and though it might be designed for the press, in answer to Sir Robert Filmer, it was not yet perfected, nor had it been exposed to public view. But the manuscript being seized, and the subject examined, it was thought fit, instead of answering him with the pen, to answer him with the axe. This must pass for an admirable way of disputing, and is so natural to the thing, that it may pass for a maxim, that arbitrary power is only to be defended by arbitrary power, and passive absolute subjection can only be exemplified by itself. He that, when he is argued against, can answer with his sword instead of his pen, has certainly a full power in his hand to confirm this doctrine, and needs no other method; nor is it any other way to be defended. When, therefore, they found Algernon Sydney's argument unanswerable by words, the only way left them was to lay aside debating with the book, and fall upon the man: so they cut off his head, merely because they could not answer his book. It has since been printed, and remains unanswered to this day; and a man would desire no better conquest over the adversaries of liberty, than to desire them to reply to it now, when they have freedom to speak, and will not be answered, as the author was, by the scaffold or the gibbet." *Jure Divino*, B. iv. p. 27, 28, *note*.

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* Review, iv. 678.

(Y) When the bishops were afterwards sent to the Tower for practising the resistance which they charged as a crime upon these ill-fated patriots, Dr. Sherlock preached *That judgment had begun at the House of God;* upon which a contemporary writer, who was also a clergyman, and a great sufferer for liberty, observes, "That it began there when Stephen College was murdered, who suffered more for the Protestant religion and his country, than all the bishops either in or out of the Tower, or than all the clergy of England put together; and left a dying-speech which outweighs their sermons. And he was a true first martyr Stephen; for, as his bare-faced murder threatened every honest man in England, so he was followed in his martyrdom by better men than are now living, whom this nation does dearly miss. And yet, when he was sent down to the Oxford slaughter-house to be destroyed, because it could not be done here in London, I remember several of the clergy played with his death, and were very much pleased that they had one College more in their University.—*Johnson's Notes to the Pastoral Letter*, p. 53.

CHAPTER VI.

De Foe commences Author.—Writes against Roger L'Estrange.—Account of his Pamphlet.—His Publication upon the War between the Turks and the Imperialists.—Persecution of the Hungarian Protestants.—State of Affairs in England.—Persecution revived.—Severe Proceedings of the Magistrates.—And the Bishops.—Marvel's Remarks upon the Conduct of Christians.—De Foe exposes the Folly of Persecution.—And the Absurdity of the Sacramental Test.—Death of Charles II.—His Character.

1682—1685.

The faculties of De Foe began to unfold at an early age. By the time he was one-and-twenty, he commenced author, and continued the employment with little intermission, for the space of half a century. His first publication is commonly supposed to have been called forth by the war between the Turks and the Imperialists; but before this, he enlisted his pen in the factions of the times, and levelled a lampoon at one of the most factious of its writers, the noted Roger L'Estrange. It was occasioned by L'Estrange's "Guide to the Inferior Clergy," and bore the following title: "*Speculum Crape-Gownorum;* or a Looking-glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd. With Reflections on some of the late high-flown Sermons: to which is added, An Essay towards a Sermon of the newest Fashion. By a Guide to the Inferiour Clergie. Ridentem discere Verum Quis Vetat? London: Printed for E. Rydal. 1682." 4to. pp. 34.

Mr. Godwin, in his Lives of the Philips's, attributes this work to John Philips; but we have the best authority for giving it to De Foe, who expressly claims it in one of his *Reviews,* as the reader will find in the note.(z) He borrowed his title from the crape gowns then usually worn by the inferior clergy, and probably thought that many would be ensnared to read his book by the taking effect of a superscription. Availing himself of the licence of the times, he repays the libellers of the Dissenters in their own coin, and shoots his bolts without ceremony at the weak points of the established clergy. To this mode of warfare they had rendered themselves obnoxious by the scurrility of their writings; and the edge of resentment was further sharpened by the oppression of the civil power. Many of the ideas in the former part of the pamphlet are borrowed without acknowledgment, from a work published a few years before by Dr. John Eachard, intitled "The Grounds and Occasion of the Contempt of the Clergy." Eachard wrote with much shrewdness and good sense; but the errors that he pointed out in a friendly manner, for the purpose of correction, are converted by De Foe into a hostile attack upon the clergy, whom he holds up to contempt. He was then but a young author, and wrote under strong feelings of irritation, created by the circumstances of the times; but if these considerations account for, rather than justify any intemperance of language, he is scarcely to be excused for making such free use of an author whose work had passed through several editions, and was still popular. He probably thought that the concessions of a churchman were fair game for his sarcastic file, and he would have been less open to blame had he dressed them more entirely in his own language, or acknowledged the source from whence they were derived.

(z) "The first effort of our French Refugees, was our thin black crapes a manufacture purely their own. I refer to the memory of people conversant with trade, how universally it pleased our people; so that the least quantity of wool that ever was heard of in a garment, supplying the room of a suit of cloth, it became a general habit, and the ladies of the best quality began to appear in a gown and petticoat under twenty-five shillings; till the meanness of the price giving every servant an opportunity to be as fine as her mistress, it grew a little obsolete among the women. Then the men fell into it. It served gentlemen for waistcoats, all men for linings, and the clergy for gowns; till *an unhappy author* writing a book called *Speculum Crape-gownorum,* though the book had no manner of regard to the vehicle of the gown, but was a reply to, or rather a banter on Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Guide to the Inferior Clergy*; yet these gentlemen took the hint, and immediately conceived a pique at the crape-gown as a type of an inferior clergyman, to the irreparable damage of the innocent manufacture, which never recovered its reputation to this day." The *unhappy author* here alluded to, was no other than De Foe, who was in the habit of referring to himself in these terms.—*Review,* i. 357.

The "Essay towards a Sermon of the Newest Fashion," which occupies about a third of the pamphlet, is entirely original, and as Mr. Godwin observes, "is equal in point of humour to any thing that occurs in Dr. Eachard's performance."(A) The text is taken from "Rabelais, chap. 32; *Vertu nescio quo.* Then Grandgousier* sending to know what the matter was, found that some of his people had taken certain Simnels from the subjects of Picrochol."† In expounding the words, he says, "The Presbyterians, my beloved, are the subjects of Grandgousier, and so are all the rest of the Dissenters and Fanatics. Grandgousier signifies rebellion, in the original." His Crape-gown-man is therefore a firm believer in the Presbyterian plot; but as for Popish plots and meal-tub plots, he believes nothing of them; "for Rome and we are agreed; and why the Pope or the Papists should plot against us, I neither can nor will understand." The grand quarrel of the time was the bill of exclusion. "I must tell ye, my beloved, that there is a great contention

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(A) Its purpose is to satirize "our crape-gown men" for their interference with politics, "that they may see how ridiculous they are, when they stand fretting and fuming and heating themselves about state-affairs in their pulpits." He therefore recommends them to read his short sermon, "which if it be not altogether their own words, I am sure," says he, "is altogether their own sense."

* Wide-throat. † *Iræ amaræ,* Bitter resentment. *Godwin.*

between the subjects of Grandgousier, and us that are the people of Picrochol, concerning the succession." In the following passage, he sports his wit upon the loyalty of the times: "Now, as there are signs of grace, so there are signs of loyalty. In the first place, for a man to wear a scarlet twist under his hat-band, is a great sign of loyalty: for there is a strange sympathy between the heart and the hat; as the heart moves, so the hat moves: if the heart be dutiful and respectful, off goes the hat. Again, my beloved, scarlet is a royal colour: the robes are scarlet, and therefore, they that wear scarlet twists in their hats, must of necessity be true-blue, as they say; for the twist signifies allegiance, and scarlet signifies cordial, as being the colour of the heart. So put both together, the twist and the scarlet, and there's cordial allegiance." Another mark of loyalty, he tells us, is to huzza the Duke, and drink his health.

The Simnels in the text, "are the rights and privileges of us Churchmen; which the fanatics and Dissenters, men that will not cry huzza, nor wear scarlet twists in their hats, would take away from us. There is our Simnel of bowing at the altar; there is our Simnel of the surplice; there is our Simnel of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that has many plums in it; the plums of commination; the plums of excommunication; the plums of indictments, fining, and imprisoning for conscience-sake. Then there is our choicest Simnel of all, the Simnel of our livings and our tythes. And lastly, there is our Simnel of succession; for the Duke's case is a hard case, my beloved; the scripture tells us so. All these Simnels, my beloved, would the fanatics, the subjects of Grandgousier take from us by force and violence. Were I now to preach before a great magistrate that had the power in his hands, I would say,—My Lord, you bear not the sword in vain.—Let them be fined and imprisoned, nay hanged, my Lord. Now, if my Lord should say,—Do you endeavour to refute and convince them of their errors by sound doctrine and good example of life. Then would I say,—No, my Lord, they will never be convinced by us; for we have not wit nor learning enough to do it; neither can we take so much pains. 'Tis easier to talk an hour about state-affairs, and make satyrs against the fanaticks, than to preach convincing and sound doctrine. The fanaticks, therefore, must be confuted by bolts and shackles; by fines and imprisonments; by excommunications and exterminations; and therefore, pray my Lord, let 'em be scourged out of the temple; let 'em be whipped out of the nation; and let us not lose our Simnels through oscitancy, and Spanish consideration. The people of Picrochal, my beloved, are ourselves. *Picros*, in the original, signifies bitter, and kole, signifies anger; and have we not reason to be bitterly angry with those that would take away our Simnels? So have I seen, when a young child has carelessly held a piece of bread and butter in his hand, and looked the other way, that a Grandgousier dog has come and snatched away the child's bread and butter, the child's Simnel, and run away with it. Thus we are not to hold our Simnels carelessly in our hands; but we are to watch and take care that our Simnels, our rights, and our privileges, be not taken away."

The above is a sample of the mode of warfare between opposing sects, at a time when the press was open to but one of the parties in the way of serious argument. The weapon of ridicule so often displayed by the cavaliers, was occasionally resorted to by their opponents; and the manner in which it was wielded by our author, may be estimated by the foregoing extracts. As a satire upon the follies of the times, when the pulpit became a theatre for pedantic display, or was converted into an arena for politics, it is not without its merit, and gave an earnest of those sarcastic powers that were unfolded by De Foe in his subsequent writings. His present work seems to have produced a consequence beyond his intention; for he tells us that it occasioned the crape-gown to be banished from its clerical use, to the great detriment of the manufacture.

The fertility of the subject soon produced a second part of the *Speculum Crape-Gownorum;* in which the author deals more seriously with the government, and by a practical view of the effect of persecution, exposed its absurdity. In expounding David's description of a good man, in the fifteenth Psalm, he accommodates the subject with much ingenuity to the case of the Dissenters, contending that, as they were good subjects and virtuous men, the laws could not be interpreted against them, being intended to reach those only who committed a breach of the peace. But whatever good sense pervaded his argument, it was of little avail with those who substituted passion for reason, and possessed the power of doing wrong,

It was not to be expected that so much criminating matter as is brought forward in these party missiles, would pass without rebuke. They were animadverted upon in a pamphlet written in the coarse style of L'Estrange, and bearing the following title: "Reflections upon two scurrilous libels, called *Speculum Crape-Gownorum.*" By a Layman. London: Printed for Benjamin Tooke, at the Ship, in St. Paul's Church Yard. 1682. 4to.

From the distraction of contending parties, inflamed by untempered zeal for ecclesiastical observances, De Foe now turned his attention to the war that was raging upon the continent between the Turks and the German emperor. This, like most other subjects, gave rise to contradictory opinions, in which the passions had their full play. The despotic character of the Austrian, and his oppression of the Protestants, had alienated the Whigs from his cause, so that many of them wished well to his opponent. De Foe, who viewed the matter differently, was desirous of calling their attention to the consequences that would arise to the common cause of

Christianity by the success of the Mussulman. He therefore composed a treatise against the Turks, which appeared in 1683; but being anonymous, the exact title has never been identified. When De Foe collected his tracts into volumes, he omitted this treatise, perhaps from his inability to procure it, and the distance of time has now rendered it still more difficult. The scope of his argument, however, may be collected from his *Reviews*, in which he pursued the subject through several numbers, and in the absence of his pamphlet may serve to throw some light upon the nature of that performance.

The oppressive government of the emperor had occasioned the Hungarians to rise in arms against him for the protection of their rights; and being too weak to oppose him single-handed, they called in their neighbours the Turks to their assistance. A contest begun under such circumstances, soon assumed a formidable character, and it was carried on with great fury and bloodshed. The Turks were then a warlike people, and being crowned with success in the early stages of the contest, they laid siege to Vienna. Alarmed for their own safety, which was involved in that of the emperor, the neighbouring powers flew to his assistance, and under the command of John Sobieski, King of Poland, defeated the Turks and raised the siege. The deliverance of the Austrian despot by the magnanimity of his neighbours, should have taught him a little forbearance to the poor Hungarians, who claimed the confirmation of their privileges, liberty of conscience, a free diet, and the restitution of their confiscated estates; no unreasonable demands, surely, from a people who had so long and so bravely contended for their independence; but it is the character of despotism to grasp at every thing and concede nothing; and the brave Sobieski, unable to procure an accommodation, retired in disgust to his own country.

It was a question then agitated in England, how far it was proper to afford succour to a Catholic prince who had in a most unmerciful manner proscribed his own Protestant subjects: "For, these poor miserables were delivered over, without any restrictions, to the soldiers and to the priests. The first, it may be supposed, had little compassion for their goods; the latter had less for their lives. In a persecution of this latitude, their churches were seized, their schools dissolved, their estates and honours sequestered, their persons imprisoned, and dragged to public execution. All manner of injuries and oppressions were practised upon the people, and all sorts of cruelties upon their ministers, two hundred of whom we find at one time in the Spanish gallies, coupled with Turks, Moors, and malefactors, and condemned to the miseries of the *oar*, a martyrdom, if I may be allowed to judge," says De Foe, "much worse and more intolerable than the severest tortures of the Dioclesian persecution." The Hungarian patriots, however, submitted to this treatment with the most passive fortitude. "Not that it was unlawful for them to have repelled by force such unjust oppressions; and that murder, tyranny, and injustice may not be withstood by the innocent oppressed people, whenever they find all peaceable, legal methods, to secure their civil or religious rights ineffectual. This is a doctrine," says De Foe, "so rooted in the laws of nature, so confirmed from heaven, and so constantly practised by all people and nâtions in the world, of what religion or profession soever, that to oppose it must be to extinguish reason, obliterate nature, contradict the practice of immemorial custom, and give up the power God has intrusted to every man to defend the blessings bestowed, and which it must be as lawful to maintain as to enjoy."*

But this was not a religious war. The Hungarian nobility took up arms in defence of their civil liberties, and the Protestants, exasperated by their sufferings, did not hesitate to join them; a measure not at all disapproved by De Foe, who observes, "Nor can I be prevailed upon to say that even these had not a just pretence to defend their hereditary rights, their laws, lands, possessions, and honours, against all manner of illegal violence; though at the same time, I must own myself of opinion that the oppressions they felt, were occasioned very much by a want of temper and consideration on both sides. The emperor, too eager to impose garrisons of Germans, and to fortify their towns; and the Hungarians, too tenacious of liberty in denying quarter to the German auxiliaries, who were to defend them against the Turks." The licentiousness of the German soldiery led them to plunder and insult their friends; whilst the Hungarians, fiery, cruel, and revengeful, did not fail to retaliate their injuries. "Thus, mutual extremes increased the mutual aversion, and the emperor resolving to maintain possession of the country, perhaps drove them to those infringements of right which gave legal and proper title to the Hungarians to take arms in general, for the defence of undoubted property."*

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* Review, i. 289.

That part of their conduct which gave the most dissatisfaction to De Foe, and occasioned him to write his treatise, was their calling in the Turks; a step which threatened the overthrow, not of Protestantism only, but of Christianity itself. "It needs but a small degree of rhetoric," says he, "to convince the people of England, that 'tis not at all in the interest of the Protestant religion to have even Popery itself thus extirpated. For my part, I am not for having the Whore of Babylon pulled down by the Red Dragon, and Popery destroyed by the power of Mahometanism. I am so far a dissenter from the Hungarian Protestants. I had rather the emperor should tyrannize than the Turks. The Papist hates me because he thinks me an enemy to Christ and his church: the Turk hates me because he hates the name of Christ, bids him defiance as a Saviour, and declares universal war againt his very name, and all that profess to worship him."*

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* Review, i. 290.

Although the subject upon which our author now exercised his pen has ceased to excite any interest, yet it was far otherwise when he wrote; and the excellent sentiments above quoted will be an apology for their insertion. De Foe argued the subject at great length in his "Review;" and, in a later publication, he thus notices the fate of his performance. "The first time I had the misfortune to differ with my friends, was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the Whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks taking it; whilst I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above three-score and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with; and, though then but a young mán, and a younger author, I opposed it, and wrote against it, which was taken very unkind indeed."†

To return to the affairs of England. With the liberties of the nation prostrate before him, the king became absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects; and the shameful manner in which he sported with both, are too well known to be forgotten. Much of his ill government is to be attributed to the influence of his brother, the Duke of York, by whose counsels, the severities that had been exercised upon the Papists, were now to be revenged upon the Non-conformists. In this pious work, much assistance was derived from the clergy, who preached against them from their pulpits, declaring that more danger was to be apprehended from the fanatics, than from the Papists. The lapse of a few years, however, convinced them of their mistake.

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* Review, 234—237.

† Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 51.

In the persecution of Dissenting Protestants, the court derived much assistance from the magistrates. In 1681, the Middlesex justices ordered all ale-house keepers to attend their parish churches and receive the sacrament, under the penalty of forfeiting their license. They also prohibited any parish relief to be given to persons who did not attend and receive in like manmer. As Non-conformists were no longer to be the objects of charity, reason required that they should be exempted from the burthen of poor-rates. So much justice, however, was not to be expected from men who substituted authority for reason. The same course was followed in 1683, by the wise justices of Devon. Having taken it into their heads, that all the Non-conformists in their county were involved in the pretended plot for which Lord Russell was sacrificed, they came to a resolution, that sufficient sureties should be required for the peaceable behaviour of such persons as they thought fit to suspect, and ordered warrants to be left with the constables of every parish for their apprehension; and as an encouragement to officers for the brisk discharge of their duty, forty shillings were allowed for the apprehension of every Non-conformist preacher. The tender-hearted magistrates conclude, "and we resolve to prosecute them, and all other such dangerous enemies of the government, and common absenters from church, and frequenters of conventicles, according to the directions of a law made in the 35th year of Queen Elizabeth, entitled " An Act for keeping her Majesty's subjects in obedience." If these worthy justices had been as active in detecting the frequenters of ale-houses and other haunts of vice, the morals of the people might have been improved; but this would not have looked so well in the eyes of a court that wallowed in profligacy, and sustained itself by the persecution of all that was virtuous.

That the church might not hang back in so acceptable a warfare, the Bishop of Exeter gave instructions to the clergy of his diocese, requiring them to publish the order of the magistrates in their respective churches upon the following Sunday. The prelate's name was Lamplugh; who, for his loyalty to King James, was translated to York, and a few days afterwards turned his heels upon his benefactor; but so callous a monster was prepared for any act of perfidy and wickedness that might answer his purpose.* Barlow, of Lincoln, another iron-hearted man, followed the same course in his diocese.† The prelates of these times have not been without their admirers; and even in the present day there are writers who magnify their doings, and treat them as saintly persons. But, to call such men the ministers of God is nothing less than blasphemy; they were rather the messengers of Satan sent into the world to buffet it.

Upon a view of these severities, it was well observed by Andrew Marvel, that Christians found fairer quarter under the ancient governments, than amongst themselves. "Nor hath there any advantage accrued unto mankind from that most perfect and practical model of human society, except the speculation of a better way to future happiness, concerning which the very guides disagree, and of those few that follow, no man is suffered to pass without paying at their turnpikes. All which hath proceeded from no other reason, but that men, instead of squaring their governments by the rule of Christianity, have shaped Christianity by the measure of their government; have reduced that straight line by the crooked; and, bungling divine and human things together, have been always hacking and hewing one another, to frame an irregular figure of political incongruity."‡

De Foe, who was an eye-witness to this reign of terror, has well exposed the folly of persecution. "It would be melancholy," says he, "to fill this paper with a history of the dilapidations and invasions made upon one another here in a nation of Christians. No man would think, and foreigners are amazed when they hear, how a Protestant nation, not long before persecuted themselves, and by reason of that persecution rending themselves by force from the Roman church, and having established a reformation, should not, among the rest of their doings, have rooted out that canker of religion, *persecution*. The fury with which these reformers turned upon their brethren, only because they were for making that reformation more complete, is unaccountable; and, had it been told to King Edward VI., the pious founder of the English church, he would have replied with the Assyrian captain to the prophet, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do these things!' The imprisonments and fines, the excommunications and plunderings, the indignities, revilings, silencing, banishing, and putting to death of Dissenters in England, only for not complying with things acknowledged to be indifferent, have been such, that no nation in the world can parallel; and were the black history to be entered into, it would find no example: none were ever carried on by such clandestine and irregular methods; none begun upon such trifling occasions, and for such minute differences. Persecution between the Heathen and Christian, Athanasian and Arian, Papist and Protestant, had some pretence; they were opposite in principle, stood upon different foundations, and the safety of one was inconsistent with the prosperity of the other: but for Protestants to persecute their brethren of the same faith, of whom it must be said, that one cannot fall without the other, and this, while potent enemies assault them both, is the most preposterous and unaccountable thing in the world."

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* Harris's Life of Charles II., ii. 113—115.

† Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 104.

‡ Acc. of the Growth of Popery, &c.

The absurdity of the conduct against which our author so forcibly declaims, was strikingly exemplified in a case which fell under his own observation. "I remember," says he, "that in the unhappy times when Dissenters were persecuted by the preposterous maxims of the court, when the church was made a tool to act a part for the state, and with an unchristian as well as inconsistent zeal, first drove men to the sacrament, and then refused it them unless they complied with the ceremony of kneeling: as these things caused a great many unhappy, and I may say dreadful sacraments, when men were, contrary to the express canon of the church, driven to the table under all manner of open and scandalous unfitness, to the scandal of the Christian religion, and the great dishonour of the Church of England. Having occasion to go to Windsor, with a certain gentleman with whom I had some contest about the posture of receiving, and the coercions then in fashion, it chanced that we went together into the chapel-royal, or St. George's Chapel, and viewing the fine painting, I was surprised to find that at the same time that the government persecuted the Dissenters for not receiving the sacrament kneeling, on the altar-piece of the chapel was represented our Saviour administering his last supper, and his disciples all sitting around the table. I confess, it occurred to my mind, that it was strange with what face a government could persecute its subjects for refusing to receive in a posture which, at the same time, they acknowledged thus publicly our Saviour himself did not practice at the first institution; and shewing it my friend, it struck him dumb as to his argument, and astonished him. I know the posture is disputed; but all allow it to be that which suited best with their common repasts, and being a feast or fellowship, was therefore called a communion. But the reasonableness of imposing these indifferent things as terms of communion, will absolutely sink and die by these inconsistences; and the reasonableness being taken away, I think the necessity will soon follow; for, if it cannot be proved to be reasonable, it will be very difficult to make out the necessity."*

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* Review, ii. 485—7.

The soundness of our author's reasoning would scarcely be disputed if truth were to be sought for its own sake, but so pure a motive would be fatal to the sinister views that have influenced mankind in their intercourse with each other. It would confound equally the policy of the statesman, and the sophistry of the casuist; it would curb the ambition of ecclesiastics in their pursuit of dignities; and it would strip religion itself of those meretricious appendages that have been its passport to the favour of the world. In the reign now under consideration, passion and prejudice stifled the remonstrances of reason and justice; and the most odious bigotry formed the strong characteristic of public men. Whilst they were eagerly contending for forms and shadows, they lost the spirit of Christianity; and when public virtue was destroyed, the nation lost its liberties.

The acquisition of absolute power was far from affording to its possessor the happiness that he contemplated. From the time of the execution of Russell and Sidney, whom he would have pardoned but for the intervention of his brother, there was a visible alteration in the king's manner, and his spirits became affected. Towards the close of his life, there seems to have been some scheme in agitation for a change of measures, but the precise nature of it is involved in the same uncertainty that attends many other transactions of this reign. It has been suspected that the influence of the Duke was declining, and that he was to be sent abroad; also, that a more popular system of government was to be resorted to. But whatever may have been the nature of the project, the sudden death of the king put an end to its accomplishment. "This event," says Welwood, "came opportunely for the Duke, and in such a manner, and with such circumstances, as will be a problem to posterity, whether he died a natural death, or was hastened to his grave by treachery." It was given out that he died of apoplexy; but his symptoms wearing a different appearance, it was strongly suspected that poison had been administered to him. This conjecture derived a certain degree of authority from the king's physicians, particularly Dr. Brady; and from the unfair methods that were used to prevent a proper inspection of his body. The event, however occasioned, took place, February 6, 1684—5, in the 54th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign.*

Thus ended a reign, as inglorious to the monarch, as it was ruinous to the nation he governed. Charles was not deficient in natural endowments: but the circumstances of the times were unfavourable to his education; his acquirements were scanty, and he early imbibed those despotic notions of government, and those licentious habits which disgraced his future life. The opening of his reign was inauspicious to liberty; for the parliament, unfaithful to its trust, and ungrateful to the memory of those patriots who had bled for the subversion of a former despotism, enthroned him without conditions, leaving to his mercy those points which should have been secured by law, the neglect of which entailed endless contests with the prerogative. Such was the infatuation of the times, that this king acquired without difficulty all the power which his father had contested for at the price of his life; but there was an essential difference in the character of the two princes, the manners of the second Charles being as gracious as those of the first were the reverse. To this was owing in a great measure that unbounded influence which he possessed over people of all ranks, and which enabled him to obtain from his first parliament more money to squander upon his pleasures, than had been granted to any of his predecessors to support the expense of their wars. The difficulties in which he involved himself by his prodigality, not only brought ruin upon many private individuals, but entangled him in disastrous leagues with France, from whence he drew large sums for the perfidious design of destroying the liberties and religion of his country.

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* Burnet, Welwood, &c.

His talents for public business are said to have been by no means inconsiderable; but they were overpowered by a love of ease, which induced him to pass most of his time in private, in the indulgence of various excesses, which he continued to the last. Evelyn, who was an eye-witness, gives the following description of a disgusting scene which took place but a few days before his death. "I can never forget," says he, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se-night I was witness to; the king, sitting and toying with his concubines Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c.; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset, round a large table, a bank of at least 2000*l.* in gold before them, upon which, two gentlemen who were with me, made a reflection with astonishment: six days after, all was in the dust!"

To speak of the religion of a man who was totally devoid of moral principle, seems absurd. Dr. Welwood says it was Deism, "or rather that which was called so; and if in his exile, or at his death, he went into that of Rome, the first was to be imputed to a complaisance for the company he was then obliged to keep, and the last, to a lazy diffidence in all other religions, upon a review of his past life, and the near approach of an uncertain state." Great pains were taken to fix him in the communion of the Church of England, particularly by Bishop Kenn, who stood higher in his esteem than the other bishops, and repeatedly pressed him to receive the sacrament, but to no purpose; he, however, consented to receive absolution from him, thinking, says Burnet, that it would do him no harm. All the honour that could be derived from such a convert, belongs exclusively to the Church of Rome, to which he now resigned himself. Father Huddleston being admitted into his chamber by the contrivance of his brother, performed the office of confessor, and administered the usual rights of his church, at the conclusion of which, the king appeared easy and satisfied. Having dosed himself with these delusions, he, with his dying breath, recommended his mistresses and children to the care of his brother, but said nothing either of his wife or people; nor did he express any contrition either for his mis-government, or his profligate life.*

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* Historians of the Times.

CHAPTER VII.

Accession of James II.—His fair Promises.—Flattering Addresses.—He seizes the Customs.—And goes publicly to Mass.—Servility of Parliament.—Observation of Maximilian II.—Character of the Duke of Monmouth.—His Expedition to England.—Rising in his Favour.—De Foe joins his Standard.—Obstacles to his Success.—De Foe's Account of the Enterprize.—Defeat and Execution of Monmouth.—Cruelties in the West.—De Foe's Escape.—Anecdote of one of the Duke's Followers.—De Foe's early Engagements in Trade.

1685.

THE events of the latter years of King Charles's reign, prepared the way for the peaceable accession of JAMES II., who had governed the nation in the name of his brother, and gave an earnest of what might be expected from him when he actually became king. "This prince was above fifty when he came to the throne. He had great experience of all kinds, particularly of the temper of this nation, and of the impossibility to attempt introducing Popery, without hazarding his crown. But his experience profited him not: his bigotry drew false conclusions from it; he flattered himself that he should be able to play parties against one another better than his brother had done, (which by the way was the least of his little talents); and to complete his designs by an authority which was but too well established."*

In his first speech to the privy-council, repeated afterwards in parliament, the king declared his intention of copying his brother's example, particularly his great clemency! and of adhering to the principles of the constitution, both in church and state: at the same time, he intimated that he did not mean to give up any branch of his prerogative, which he would use for the benefit of his people. The Church of England was also the theme of his commendation for her loyalty; and in return for the compliment, flattering addresses were presented by the clergy, making a tender of their lives and fortunes. Bishop Burnet tells us, that their pulpits resounded with thanksgivings for his speech, which was magnified as a security far greater than the laws;* but in their first transport of joy, they discovered more haste than prudence. Many addresses were presented from public bodies, equally profuse in expressions of loyalty. That from the society of the Middle Temple is singularly curious for its outrageous servility. The University of Oxford promised to obey him "without limitations or restrictions;" and the king's promise, says Burnet, passed for a thing so sacred, that those were looked upon as ill-bred, who put into their address "our religion established by law." The lapse of a short time, however, shewed the folly of trusting to so feeble a security.

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* Bolingbroke on Parties, p. 97.

Notwithstanding his early promise to respect the laws, the king, in the first week of his reign, seized upon the customs and excise; although the act which settled them upon the crown expired at the death of his brother. This stretch of power was the more unnecessary, as the parliament was to meet shortly, when he could not doubt of obtaining a legal settlement of the revenue: but he set out with the intention of governing in defiance of the laws; and revealed it further by going publicly to mass upon the first Sunday after his accession.

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* Burnet's Own Time, ii. 298.

Parliaments having been so long dispensed with by his brother at the suggestion of the present king, it may seem extraordinary that he should condescend to call one. He had, however, but little to fear from its proceedings; for the elections were so well managed, that when the lists were presented to him, he said that there were not above forty names with which he was dissatisfied. From a parliament thus constituted, the nation had more to dread than from the acts of the sovereign. One of its first measures was to settle upon him a revenue for life, computed by Coke at the enormous sum of more than two millions and a half per annum;* which rendered him independent of future parliaments, and would enable him to maintain an army of sufficient magnitude to govern at his pleasure. Nothing was said in the shape of grievance, nor was any notice taken of the king's conduct in seizing the customs; although a similar proceeding had cost his father his crown. But the spirit of patriotism was fled, and the liberties of the nation perfidiously betrayed into the hands of a tyrant, by a company of slaves who mocked the name of a parliament, and when they had done their work, were quietly dismissed for a future occasion.

It was an observation of the emperor Maximilian II. who distinguished himself by the humanity, prudence, and moderation of his government, that "such princes as tyrannize over the consciences of men, attack the throne of the supreme being, and frequently lose the earth by interfering too much with heaven." James, who had been tutored in a different school, had this lesson to learn from bitter experience. Professing a religion as obnoxious to the laws as that of the Non-conformists, he might have been expected to exercise that forbearance towards them, which he found so needful for persons of his own faith; but when bigotry takes possession of the mind, it blinds the reason, and dries up the sympathies of our nature.

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* Coke's Detection, ii. 337.

That the victims of a barbarous persecution should become alienated from a government that practised it, was a natural consequence: and that they should seize any favourable opportunity that offered itself for bursting their shackles, was a duty which they owed to themselves and to their children. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of them united their fortunes with the Duke of Monmouth, when he landed at Lyme in the summer of 1685, and that others, who acted more cautiously, wished him success.

JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH, was the natural son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, and possessed all those qualities of person, disposition, and manners, which were calculated to render him the favorite of his father, and the idol of the people. His education being neglected, he endeavoured to supply the defect by an application to study when he was out of favour at court; for, being at the head of the party that was in opposition to the Duke of York, his interests fluctuated according to the policy of the times; but he seems never to have lost the affections of his father. Having been bred to the profession of arms, he early distinguished himself by his bravery, and no less by his humanity. But this last quality was no recommendation to him in those days of rancour and violence; for, being sent to suppress an insurrec-in Scotland, which had been promoted by the severity of the government, his lenity to the unfortunate people occasioned his disgrace at court. Borne down by the stream of party, he was compelled to retire to Holland, where he met with a gracious reception from the Prince of Orange, much to the satisfaction of his father, who secretly continued his kindness to him; and "the more he was depressed by the envy of his uncle," observes Welwood, "the higher he arose in the affections of the people." The prospect of a change in his fortunes by the fall of the Duke's party, which Charles had determined a little before his death, was suddenly blighted by that event, and apparently put an end to any hope of his return.

A variety of circumstances now conduced to urge him upon a measure which ended fatally for himself and many of his followers. Persecuted by the king's emissaries in Holland, and uncertain where to procure a retreat, he was induced to listen to the malcontents at home. These represented to him in lively colours the odium which the king had contracted by his oppressive government; and that the disaffection being general, an immediate invasion offered a fair prospect of success. As he had made no preparations for such an enterprise, he treated it at first with coolness; but the Duke of Argyle having determined to make an attempt upon Scotland, it was thought a favourable opportunity for promoting an insurrection in England. The disaffection prevailing most in the West, the Duke consented to raise his standard in that quarter, and embarking in the Texel, with three small ships, and one hundred and fifty men, he landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, in June, 1685. "A romantic kind of invasion," says Welwood, "and scarcely paralleled in history; yet, with this handful of men, and the common people that joined him without arms, provisions, martial discipline, money, or any one place of strength to retire to in case of accidents, did this brave unfortunate man bid fair for a crown. And if his ill-fate had not placed a battalion of Dumbarton's regiment in his way, he had in all probability surprised the king's army in their camp, and perhaps at that single blow decided the fortune of England."*

In the number of those who joined the Duke's standard, was Daniel De Foe, who, at the age of four and twenty, showed to the world that he could handle his sword no less than his pen, in the cause of liberty. Of Monmouth, he seems to have had some previous knowledge, having often seen him at races, where, contrary to the usual custom, he rode his own horses; and, notwithstanding he was a large heavy man, he sometimes won the prize.* (B)

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* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 120.

When the Duke landed at Lyme, he was heartily welcomed by an oppressed people, who flocked in crowds to his standard, and his army swelled in its progress; but it was badly officered, and the gentry stood aloof, actuated probably by fear for themselves more than by affection for the monarch. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he laboured, Monmouth kept the field, and traversed a considerable extent of country with but feeble opposition. The most imprudent step that he took in this affair, was his suffering himself to be proclaimed king, which was in itself a bar to his success, and would deter any person of consequence from joining him; for had the nation been prepared to throw off the yoke of the tyrant, its final settlement should have been referred to a grave national assembly.

The issue of the enterprise stamped it with the imprudence which had been contemplated by its leader, who was a brave man, but fell a victim to the rash counsels of a few hotheaded individuals. Had he delayed his expedition but a few months, or taken the precaution to secure the assistance of a few experienced officers, there is no saying what might, have been the consequence. As it was, the sudden progress of the insurrection alarmed the king; and De Foe, who was an eye-witness, says, he was within a trifle of ruin. For, had not the Duke's army been deceived by the darkness of the night, and led to a large ditch of water which they could not pass over, they had certainly surprised and overthrown the king's army, and cut them in pieces, before it was known who had hurt them.[*]

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* Tour through Great Brit. iii. 22.

(B) De Foe, when a young man, appears to have been a frequent visitor of the race-ground. In the following passage, he records the Duke's popularity. "It was my hap formerly to be at Aylesbury, when there was a mighty confluence of noblemen and gentlemen at a famous horse-race, at Quainton-Meadow, not far off, where was then the late Duke of Monmouth and a great many persons of the first rank, and a prodigious concourse of people. I had occasion to be there again, in the late queen's reign, when the same horse-race, which is continued yearly, happened again, and then there was the late Duke of Marlborough, and a like concourse of persons of quality. But the reception of the two dukes was mighty different, the last duke finding some reasons to withdraw from a public meeting, where he saw he was not like to be used as he thought he had deserved."—*Tour through Great Britain*, ii. Let. iii. p. 21.

The events connected with Monmouth's affair being detailed by our historians, it will be sufficient to notice an incident or two recorded by De Foe. He mentions a battle fought in Chipping-Norton Lane, in which the Duke had the decided advantage; which if he had pushed further, would have amounted to a complete victory.[†] Finding himsslf foiled in his expectations from the city of Bristol, and being repulsed at Bath, in order to avoid being surrounded by the king's troops, he retreated to Bridgewater, which, from its situation, was capable of being easily fortified. To this town he was closely pursued by the enemy; but not thinking fit to stand a siege, "he went up to the top of the steeple, with some of his officers, and viewing the situation of the king's army by the help of perspectives, he resolved to make an attempt upon them by way of prevention. He accordingly marched out of the town in the dead of the night to the attack, and had he not, either by the treachery or mistake of his guides, been brought to an impassable ditch where he could not get over, in the interval of which the king's troops took the alarm by the firing of a pistol amongst the Duke's men, whether also by accident or treachery is not known; I say, had not these accidents and his own fate conspired to his defeat, he had certainly cut the Lord Feversham's army all to pieces; but

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Consolidator, p. 135.

[†] Tour through Great Brit. ii. Let. iii. 53.

by these circumstances he was brought to a battle on unequal terms, and defeated."*

The consequences that followed are well known. Monmouth, after wandering about for some time in disguise, was taken at Ringwood, quite sunk with fatigue; and being carried to London, made his submission to the king in terms that ill-accorded with his former bravery. It was, however, to no purpose: James admitted him to his presence only to insult him; and being ordered for execution three days afterwards, he prepared himself for death with a firmness of soul worthy the character of a hero. Two bishops, Kenn and Turner, were ordered to attend him upon the scaffold; but instead of employing the precious moments in a manner befitting his situation, they distracted his attention with politics, endeavouring to extract from him an acknowledgment of their favorite dogmas of passive obedience and non-resistance. Refusing to become the dupe of their sophistry, he called for Dr. Tennison, who treated him with more judgment; and he acquired an unaffected composure and cheerfulness of mind that prepared him for his fate. He was beheaded upon Tower-Hill the 15th of July, 1685, but not without great suffering; for such was the trepidation of the executioner, that he inflicted several strokes before he succeeded in severing his head from his body.

Thus died this unfortunate young man, who fell a victim to the rashness and cowardice of his friends, as much as to the cruelty of his enemies. "He had several good qualities in him," says Burnet, "and some that were as bad: he was soft and gentle even to excess, and too easy to those who had any credit with him. He was both sincere and good-natured, and understood war well; but he was too much given to pleasure and to favorites."† Nurtured in the most profligate of courts, it would have been a miracle had he escaped its contagion; but with all his failings he possessed much personal merit, and justified the partiality of the nation by the consistency of his public conduct. If a defective judgment impelled him to acts of imprudence, he atoned for them by the severity of his sufferings; and the peculiarity of his fate, as it excited great interest at the time, will continue to procure for him the tear of the compassionate. Monmouth fell in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

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* Tour through Great Britain, Vol. ii. Let. i. p. 24.

† Burnet's Own Time, ii. 332.

The horrible cruelties that followed upon Monmouth's defeat, particularly in the West of England, and the savage exploits of Jeffries and Kirk, are matters of too great notoriety to be dwelt upon in this place. Their recital will always chill the blood, and consign the monsters who perpetrated them to the most conspicuous niche in the temple of infamy.

De Foe, who had the good fortune to escape from the terrible vengeance that awaited his less happy companions, returned in safety to the metropolis. "It is not improbable," says one of his biographers, "but that the circumstance of his being a native of London, and his person not being much known in that part of the kingdom where the insurrection took place, might facilitate his escape, and be the means of preventing his being brought to any trial for his share in that transaction."* Many years afterwards, when time had matured his judgment, De Foe looked back with great satisfaction upon the part he had taken in this adventurous concern.† (c)

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* Biog. Brit. † Appeal to Honour and Justice, 28.

(c) Amongst the followers of Monmouth, was Richard Cogan, of whom the author, having married one of his descendants, may be excused relating the following anecdote. He resided at Coaxdon Hall, between Chard and Axminster, upon an estate that had been purchased by his father of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, the celebrated historian. Being a leading man amongst the Dissenters, and a known friend to liberty, he was strongly suspected of having been with Monmouth, and some scouts were sent in pursuit of him. Having notice of their coming, he retreated to Axminster, and took refuge

From the stormy region of politics, De Foe now diverted his attention to the more peaceful occupation of trade. The nature of his business has been variously represented: in

in the Green Dragon Inn, then the principal one in the town; where, being pursued by the soldiers, the daughter of the landlord, a fine spirited, clear-headed girl, perceiving his dilemma, took him up stairs, and with great promptitude as well as presence of mind, concealed him between the feather bed and the sacking of the bedstead, adjusting the bed-clothes with great order and adroitness. The men entered the room, searched the closets, looked under the bedstead, and departed. Still persuaded that he was in the house, they returned and made a second search, but owing to the lady's management, with no better success than before. That so remarkable a preservation should excite in the object of it feelings of gratitude and admiration towards his fair deliverer, is not at all surprising; and ripening by degrees into a more tender passion, when the times became somewhat settled, he made her his wife. Her name was *Elizabeth Grey* or *Gray*. It was not very long after this event, that they had an opportunity of giving a fresh testimony of their zeal in the cause of liberty. Coaxden was surrounded by rookeries, and a grove of trees conducted from the Chard road to the house. When they had notice of the Prince of Orange's arrival, they caused tables to be placed in the avenues, and had them well covered with provisions for the entertainment of the Prince and his army, who were to pass that way in their march from Exeter to Crewkerne. This Richard Cogan had a numerous family of daughters; and it may be mentioned as a mark of the simplicity of the times, that, although his own estate was considerable, yet, unable to give large fortunes with so many, and at the same time to cut off any expectations of the kind from their suitors, he had the tiling removed from his house, and replaced it with thatch, the former then denoting a degree of wealth in the owner which, upon their account, it was not desirable for the public to suppose.

Of the parents of Richard Cogan, an anecdote still more remarkable is handed down by the family. They were originally from Ireland, where they possessed good property, which was much injured in the wars of Charles I. Upon the Irish massacre, they took refuge in England, and with the wreck of their fortune purchased Coaxden and Lodge, two estates situated between Chard and Axminster, the former of which is still possessed by one of their descendants. Here they were seated at the time of the battle of Worcester, when the royalists being entirely defeated, Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles II., escaped in disguise, and for some weeks eluded his pursuers, until he found means to depart the country. Having gone to Lyme for that purpose, the people, who were mostly disaffected to him, soon got scent of it, which obliged him to make a hasty retreat. Closely pursued on all sides, he took refuge at Coaxden, and entering the parlour several publications of the time, he is styled "a hosier"; but if we may believe his own account he never was a hosier. The truth of the matter seems to be that he was a hose-factor, or the middle man between the manufacturer and the retail dealer. This agency concern he carried on for some years in Freeman's Court, Cornhill; Mr. Chalmers says, from 1685 to 1695.* When he had been in business about two years, he judged it expedient to link himself more closely with his fellow-citizens, and was admitted a liveryman of London upon the 26th of January, 1687-8, having claimed his free-

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where Mrs. Cogan was sitting alone, threw himself upon her protection. It was then the fashion, as it was long afterwards, for ladies to wear large hoops; and as no time was to be lost, the soldiers being at his heels, she hastily concealed him under this capacious article of her dress. Mrs. Cogan was in her affections a loyalist, but her husband belonged to the opposite party, and was then out upon his estate. Observing the approach of the soldiers, he made towards his house, and entering with them, they all walked into the room where the lady was sitting. Affecting surprise at the intrusion, the men immediately announced their business, stating that Prince Charles had been traced very near to the house, and as he must be concealed upon the premises, they were authorized to make a strict search for him. Assenting with apparent readiness to their object, Mrs. Cogan kept her seat, whilst her husband accompanied the men into every room; and having searched the premises in vain, they took their departure, Mr. Cogan going out with them. Being now released from their singular and perilous situation, the lady provided for the security of the fugitive, until it was prudent for him to depart; and having furnished him with provisions and a change of apparel, he proceeded on his journey to Trent, and from thence to Brighthelmstone, then a poor fishing town, from whence he embarked for France. Clarendon, who has given an interesting narrative of his peregrinations, has omitted the above adventure, but it is well authenticated. After he had reached the continent, Charles rewarded the lady's fidelity by sending her a handsome gold chain and locket, having his arms on the reverse. This relic was long preserved in the family, until the last possessor unfortunately exchanged it away for plate with a jew at Exeter. Repenting of this step, an attempt was made a few days afterwards to recover it back again, but it was then too late; the purchaser having reported, whether truly or otherwise, that he had melted it down for the gold. The chain was long and massy, and is within the recollection of some of the family.

* Life before the Hist. of the Union.

dom by birth. In the chamberlain's book, his name was written *Daniel Foe.* Mr. Chalmers, to whom the public is indebted for the knowledge of these facts, says, "I was led to these discoveries by observing that De Foe had voted at an election for a representative of London, whence I inferred that he must have been a citizen either by birth or service."* In his Review for July 21, 1711, he mentions his having been born a freeman, and says, he had been nearly thirty years a liveryman of the city.

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* Life of De Foe, p. 6, *n.*

CHAPTER VIII.

De Foe embarks in the Controversy upon the Dispensing Power.—Advances of the Catholic Religion.—Anecdote of the Earl of Perth.—Reflections upon the Rivalry of Sects.—Fashionable Doctrines of the Times.—The Clergy abettors of Tyranny.—Locke's Account of their Politics.—De Foe's Testimony.—Bishop Cartwright's Politics.—Altered Tone of Parliament.—Anecdote of Colonel Fox.—The King governs by his Prerogative.—Pliancy of the Judges.—Exercise of the Dispensing Power.—Discussion of Controversial Subjects in the Pulpit prohibited.—Disregarded by the Clergy.—Their Inconsistency.—Kettlewell a Passive-preacher.—Ecclesiastical Commission.—University of Oxford practises Resistance.—The King declares for Universal Toleration.—Issues a Declaration of Indulgence.—De Foe's Reflections upon it.—Use made of it by the Catholics.—And the Dissenters.—Addresses promoted.—Sentiments of Kettlewell and others upon the Toleration.—Publications upon the Dispensing Power.—De Foe writes upon it.—Distinctions of Tyranny.—Commanding Attitude of Dissenters.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—And upon their Forbearance.—And their Short-sighted Policy.—Their Moderation exemplified in the case of Jeremiah White.—They are courted by Churchmen.—Who make an ungrateful Return.—The Clergy become Advocates for Resistance.—Causes of it explained.—De Foe reprobates their Dishonesty.—New Test of Church of England Loyalty.—The King renews his Declaration, and orders it to be read in the Churches.—Opposed by the Clergy.—James forewarned of their Resistance.—The Bishops petition the King.—Their curious Interview.—Committed to the Tower.—Reflections upon that Proceeding.—Sensation produced by it.—Good Conduct of the Bishops.—Tried and Acquitted.—Expressions of Joy upon the occasion.—James grows Sullen and Exasperated.—Reflections upon his Conduct.

1685—1688.

In the feverish state of the nation at this time, the mind of De Foe was of too active a nature to be chained down to the quiet pursuits of trade; and he felt too keenly for the liberties of his country to allow of his remaining neuter upon a subject that occupied so large a portion of the public attention. He accordingly wrote upon the dispensing power at a time when all minds were engaged upon it; but in order to render the subject intelligible, it will be necessary to look into the conduct of the king, and of the different parties that were affected.

The removal of a dangerous rival by the death of Monmouth, and the success of his troops in putting down the rebellion, had so elated the king, that he immediately dropped the mask, and ventured upon those arbitrary measures which, if they had been pursued with less precipitancy, might have been attended with better success. His first scheme was to raise some new regiments; and he gave commissions to Popish officers, dispensing with the tests. The justice of these acts, as they affected the Catholics, was also called in question; and the king declared openly that he would be served by none but those who would vote for their repeal in the next session of parliament. By way of example, the Marquis of Halifax, for avowing his opposition, was removed from office; many Protestant officers were also deprived of their commissions; and the spirit of religious bigotry pervaded every measure of the government. Animated by a zeal untempered by discretion, the king pushed forward his favorite project in a manner too barefaced to be mistaken. Shoals of Catholic priests were imported from foreign countries; mass-houses were erected, seminaries instituted, and they were frequented by a numerous host of courtly or superstitious proselytes. (D) As a further demonstration of his intentions, a Popish bishop was consecrated in his own chapel at Windsor; laymen of the same religion

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(D) Amongst the converts to the royal religion was the Earl of Perth, who having reason to fear the displeasure of the court, by the discovery of some intrigues, the Marquis of Halifax smartly told him he had nothing to fear, for "his faith would make him whole." Burnet, ii. 341.

were put into various offices; and the Earl of Castlemain was sent ambassador to the Pope to solicit the re-union of England with the Holy See.

Without any extraordinary attachment to Popery, which the present writer believes to be the most corrupted form of Christianity, it is easy to perceive that for the encroachments which were now making upon their religion, the Protestants had themselves only to blame. A zeal for proselytism is common to all sects, and so long as the road to wealth and power is left open to any one of them by an union with the state, it is in the nature of things that competitors should arise to contest the monopoly. In the war of sects, the Catholics will always be formidable rivals to the Church of England, their ecclesiastical forms being so nearly alike, and having the specious claim of former possession. The existence of this rivalry in the reign of James II. was favorable to liberty, and the safety of other Protestants, who, but for the activity of the Catholics, would have been crushed beneath the weight of arbitrary power, which was too easily conceded to the monarch by the churchmen of those times. By some laws passed in the late reign, half the Protestants in the nation were disfranchised of their civil rights, which greatly weakened the reformed body, and gave a decided advantage to the Papists. It also narrowed the points in dispute between the two parties, particularly as it respected the right of private judgment; and it gave to the contention a political character unfavorable to the interests both of religion and liberty.

The cause of despotism was greatly promoted by a political sentiment now in vogue, and common both to Papists and Protestants;—that kings derive their dignity and power immediately from heaven, and are not accountable to men for their actions. Trusting to the force of this politico-ecclesiastical logic, the king imagined that he had nothing to fear: for, it being his province to command, and that of his slaves to obey, he might naturally infer that they would throw no obstacle in the way of his designs. If he miscalculated their loyalty, it was not his own fault; and it would be unjust to blame him for using against the Protestants, those chains which they had themselves forged for the slavery of others. In the direction of this formidable artillery, it is well known that the clergy of those times were the leading agents; nor did they discover their mistake until they found it turned against themselves. "All this time," observes one of our historians, "the eloquence of the Church of England was displayed in the loftiest strains in favour of the king's prerogative, and great pains were taken in reproaching the Dissenters, which afforded great satisfaction to the Jesuits. But Dr. Tillotson, and some other grave men, who had learned experience in the late times, as if they had been endowed with a foresight of what was to happen, made strenuous opposition to this complaisance of their brethren."*(E)

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* Cunningham's Great Brit. i. 63.

(E) In the late period, the doctrine of unlimited submission to princes, was sanctioned by the great names of Usher, Jeremy Taylor, Bramhall, Sanderson, and others. It is lamentable to reflect that men of their pre-eminent talents should have prostituted them in so unholy a cause; and it serves to show the little value, for any practical purpose, of mere scholastical learning. That great and immortal man, Mr. Locke, whose expanded intellect enabled him to traverse the whole range of human science, observes upon this subject, "I am afraid it is the avowed opinion of much the greatest part of our dignified clergy; if so, I am sure they are the most dangerous sort of men alive to our English government; and it is the first thing that ought to be looked into, and strictly examined by our parliaments. It is the leaven that corrupts the whole lump. For, if that be true, I am sure monarchy is not to be bounded by human laws; and the 8th Chapter of the first of Samuel will prove, as many of our divines would have it, the great charter of the royal prerogative: and our *Magna Charta*, which says, "Our kings may not take our fields, our vineyards, our corn, and our sheep," is not in force, but void and null, because against divine institution. And you have the riddle out, why the clergy are so ready to take themselves, and to impose upon others, such kind of oaths as these (the Corporation

That this is not an exaggerated picture, we have the further testimony of De Foe. "It was for many years together," says he, "and I am witness to it, that the pulpit sounded nothing but the duty of absolute submission, obedience without reserve, subjection to princes as God's vicegerents, accountable to none, to be withstood in nothing, and by no person. I have heard it publicly preached, that if the king commanded my head, and sent his messengers to fetch it, I was bound to submit, and stand still while it was cut off. I forbear to repeat the foolish extravagances that these things ran up to. There are too many books still extant of the same kind: let any man but read a few of L'Estrange's *Observators, Toleration Discussed,* Thompson's *Rule of Allegiance,* the *History of Divine Right,* and many other volumes of that age, and particularly the addresses of the Corporations, &c., in those days called loyal, and he shall find the absurdest and most ridiculous notions that ever Protestant nation was wheedled into. And what was the effect of this? The cheat was fatal two ways: had those that preached it been sincere, had they been the fools they made the king believe they would be, we had all been undone, our liberties had been sacrificed, our laws made to truckle to the will of the most arbitrary tyrant, and our

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Oath). They have placed themselves and their possessions upon a better and surer bottom, as they think, than *Magna Charta,* and so have no more need of, or concern in it. Nay, what is worse, they have truckled away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries wherever they have had opportunity; that they might be owned by the prince to be *Jure Divino;* maintained in that pretension by that absolute power and force that they have contributed so much to put into his hands; and that priest and prince may, like Castor and Pollux, be worshipped together as divine, in the same temple, by us poor lay-subjects; and that sense and reason, law, properties, rights and liberties, shall be understood as the oracles of those deities shall interpret, or give signification to them; and never be made use of in the world to oppose the absolute and free-will of either of them."—*Locke's Works,* x. 245—6.

Parliaments made tools to the pleasure of the prince, like the Protestants of France; for the elections, by the new-modelling the corporations, were all coming into his own hand. These were the steps one side drove at, but the mistake lay another way: the thing was a cheat, and the king fell into the snare. He thought he had brought them to his beck, and the first touch he gave them of the practice, they flew in his face, called in foreign help, took arms against God's vicegerent, unswore all their allegiance to him, and drove him out of the kingdom. This, they now handsomely expressed by *vigorous* and *successful withstanding* arbitrary power; and the words are copious indeed in their meaning, fully expressive of all that happened between the landing of the Prince of Orange, and the Revolution."*(F)

When the parliament re-assembled in November 1685, the king pressed for an augmentation of his army, which had been so useful to him upon a late occasion, and intimated his having dispensed with the tests in favour of Catholic officers; at the same time, he announced his intention of persevering in the same plan of government. The Lords thanked him for his speech, without any expression of dissatisfaction; but the Commons, in their address, remonstrated against the dispensing power, opposed the increase of the army, and brought in a bill for the better regulation of the militia. This opposition to his wishes so incensed the king, that he resented it in acrimonious terms, and dismissed his parliament without waiting for a supply. By this rash proceeding, James sacrificed his interest to his bigotry; for, if we may believe the following anecdote, the opposition to him was of a slender description. Whiston says, he was informed by Mr. Arthur Onslow, that it depended upon a single vote in the House of Commons, whether King James should be permitted to employ Popish officers in his army. The circumstance was this: a courtier, who was to watch every member that had any employment under the king, observed one who had a regiment, and was going to vote against the court: upon the discovery, he accosted him warmly, and put him in mind of his regiment; to which the officer made answer, "my brother died last night, and left me seven hundred a-year;" which single vote gained a majority, and, says Whiston, saved the Protestant religion at this time.*(G)

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* Review, vii. 304.

(F) Cartwright, bishop of Chester, has the following delectable passage in a sermon published in this reign. He spoke only the sentiments of his brethren. "Though the king," saith he, "should not please or humour us, though he rend off the mantle from our bodies, as Saul did from Samuel, nay, though he should sentence us to death, of which, blessed be God and the king there is no danger; yet if we are living members of the Church of England, we must neither open our mouths, or lift up our hands against him, but honour him before the elders and people of Israel: nor must we ask our prince, why he governs us otherwise than we please to be governed ourselves; we must neither call him to account for his religion, nor question his policy in civil matters, for he is made our king by God's law, of which the law of the land is only declarative!" *Somers's Tracts*, ix. 129.

Being freed from the restraints of his parliament, James now determined to make his own will the rule of his government, and to justify his acts with the sanction of the prerogative. Having surrounded himself by corrupt and fanatical advisers, and filled the seats of justice with men of accommodating principles, he resolved to bring the question of the dispensing power to a legal issue. For this purpose, he promoted a suit against a Roman Catholic officer, for not complying with the tests, and the action being carried into the Court of King's Bench, the cause was argued with so much feebleness by the crown lawyers, that a verdict was returned, legalizing the royal dispensation. Elated with this decision, the king determined to push his success, and issued orders under the royal seal, for the admission of Catholics into the Charter-house, and the two Universities; but in each place he met with a repulse. The judgment of a few ecclesiastics, however, was of little value in the estimation of a monarch who had the opinion of the judges in his favour, fortified by the practice of the imperial or civil law.

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* Memoirs of Whiston, p. 20.

(G) The above anecdote refers to Charles Fox, son to Sir Stephen Fox, by his first marriage, and the ancestor of the late illustrious statesman of that name.

The efforts of the Romanists to sap the foundations of the English hierarchy, produced the alarm that might be expected in men who had so much to lose. As an antidote to their exertions, many of the episcopal clergy thought it necessary to guard their hearers against the insidious designs of their adversaries, and frequently introduced the controversies between the two churches into their pulpits. Although the same mode of warfare was open to the Catholics, yet, as they did not address Protestant auditories, it diminished their chances in the way of conversion. The king, therefore, stepped in to their assistance, by reviving an edict issued soon after the Restoration, to stop the mouths of the Non-conformists, prohibiting the discussion of controversial subjects in the pulpit. Such an interference, although promulgated with the specious design of allaying the bad passions of theological combatants, bore upon the face of it a suspicious character. The orders issued by the head of the church were therefore disregarded. "The ministers of the Established Church," observes a modern writer, "were not to be restrained from doing their duty, on points where conscientious feeling was so deeply concerned, by authority to which, in such a matter, they could not defer."* Yet, the same privilege of exercising their conscientious scruples had been denied by these same men to their non-conforming brethren, upon a similar occasion; and the reward of their disobedience was to be confined with felons. But consistency was not to be expected from men who had bartered away the liberties of their country in exchange for an ecclesiastical despotism, of which they were the grand depositories. The credit assigned to them for their resistance to the royal mandate would have been better earned, if they had not foreclosed themselves by their previous conduct.

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* D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft, i. 220.

It deserves to be mentioned, that some of the clergy, with Mr. Kettlewell at their head, disapproved of this mode of warfare, and thought it better to instruct their hearers in the passive virtues, recommending christian obedience and prudence as the best preservative against a false religion.* Mr. Kettlewell was a pious man, but gifted with a small share of worldly wisdom; therefore, when any pressed him upon the danger of the church, he treated it as an artifice of the enemy. In his opinion, the church of England had never been in a more flourishing condition; for, as outward supports began to fail, there was an increased attention to her ritual observances.† With the true spirit of martyrdom, he inculcated submission to providence as the first duty of a Christian; "constantly recommending Christianity to his flock as a *passive religion*."‡ Such men as Kettlewell were exactly to James's mind; for, if all his brethren had acted in like manner, the Papists would have had full possession of the field, and the king might have modelled the church after any fashion that he thought proper.

For the purpose of strengthening his authority, and providing a summary punishment for the refractory, the king, by the advice of Jeffries, instituted a standing court of delegates, called "The Ecclesiastical Commission;" the members of which were nominated by himself, and consisted indifferently of Protestants and Catholics. Such an engine of despotism was by no means new to the English nation, a similar court having been established by Elizabeth, for the scourge of the Puritans; and it continued to be the terror of the people until suppressed by the long-parliament in 1640, with a provision that it was never to be revived. Laws were now but feeble bulwarks against the royal supremacy, which James thought might be as usefully employed in the hands of a Catholic as it had been heretofore in those of a Protestant. With this instrument at his disposal, he resolved to try the principles of his clergy, that he might discover whether they would practise the same virtue of passiveness, which, for nearly thirty years, they had been preaching to their Protestant brethren, under the severest penalties both in this world and the next. From the University of Oxford, James had some right to expect compliance; yet, strange to tell, that learned body was amongst the earliest to resist him, although in the face of its own famous decree, in which such resistance is described as "impious, seditious, and damnable!" Well might the enraged monarch exclaim, "Is this your Church of England loyalty?"

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* Life of Kettlewell, p. 98. † Ibid, p. 143. ‡ Ibid, p. 99.

In furtherance of his designs for the subversion of the established religion, the king projected a general toleration, but, being unable to procure for it the sanction of parliament, he resolved that it should emanate from the prerogative. For the purpose of paving the way, he suddenly altered his tone towards the Non-conformists; complained of the severity with which they had been treated by the Church of England; and declared himself for universal toleration. The Dissenters were now encouraged to re-open their meeting-houses, with an assurance of the royal protection; and if they availed themselves of the privilege, they were less blameable than those who proscribed them by an act of legal injustice.

The liberty of worship assumed by the non-conforming sects being contrary to law, the king, by virtue of the dispensing power, decreed to him by the judges, confirmed it to them by a royal declaration issued in April, 1687, having, in the preceding February, granted a like act of grace to his Scottish subjects. In the preamble to this document, the king expresses his aversion to persecution upon account of religion, and the necessity that he found of allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, in which he did not doubt of the concurrence of his parliament. He renewed his promise of maintaining the Church of England, as by law established; but suspended all penal and sanguinary laws in matters of religion: and, since the service of all his subjects was due to him by the laws of nature, he declared them all equally capable of employments, and suppressed all oaths or tests by which they were limited: in conclusion, he promised to maintain all his subjects in the possession of their property, and particularly that of the abbey lands.* Although the propriety of such maxims of government cannot be refuted, yet, it would have been more satisfactory to the parties aggrieved, had they been promulgated by parliament, where they were well understood to be an artifice of the king for the introduction of his own religion upon the shoulders of toleration. De Foe, who well understood the design, very properly asks, "Was ever any thing more absurd than this conduct of King James and his party in wheedling the Dissenters; giving them liberty of conscience by his own arbitrary dispensing authority, and his expecting they should be content with their religious liberty at the price of their constitution? A thing, though a few were deluded with, yet the body of Dissenters soon saw through. The train, indeed, was laid deep and subtilly; but this was plain to every body, that it was wholly inconsistent with the Popish interest to protect the Dissenters any otherwise than as it was made a project to create a feud between them and the church, and in the end to destroy both."†

As the toleration was primarily intended for the Roman

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* Burnet's Own Time, ii. 424. † Review, v. 75.

Catholics, so they were not wanting to make the best use of it. "The free and open exercise of their religion," says Welwood, "was now set up every where, and jesuit schools and seminaries erected in the most considerable towns. The church of England had now but a precarious title to the national church, and Romish candidates had swallowed up its preferments and dignities already in their hopes. Romish bishops were publicly consecrated in the royal chapel, and dispatched down to exercise their functions in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay-catholics of England, were openly dispersed up and down, and printed by the king's own printer with public license. The regular clergy appeared in their habits at Whitehall and St. James's, and made no scruple to tell the Protestants, 'they hoped in a little time to walk in procession in Cheapside.'"* All this was glaring enough, but only in the natural course of things.

From those who had been so long the victims of persecution, the king now looked for a return of grateful addresses; and there were many such from different quarters. Churchmen and Dissenters vied with each other in their expressions of loyalty; but the most considerable men of each party stood aloof upon the occasion. To conquer their scruples, the court resorted to various artifices, but without success. The majority of the Non-conformists, as is well known, were unfavourable to the toleration of Catholics, and therefore averse to an unqualified repeal of the tests. But some few were otherwise minded, and asserted the doctrine of toleration upon the broad basis laid down in the king's proclamation. Of this number were Stephen Lobb, the Independent, and William Penn, the Quaker, who were under personal obligations to the sovereign; as was Vincent Alsop, the only Presbyterian of any name, who had a share in the royal confidence. De Foe was greatly averse to the addresses, and wrote a pamphlet to caution the Dissenters against compliance with them; but whether it is the same as his tract upon the dispensing power, the present writer is unable to say. (H)

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* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 150.

The author of Mr. Kettlewell's life, has a long and laboured defence of King James and his policy, the perversion of which he charges upon his ministers. Of the Indulgence he thinks favorably; and says, that the mode of granting it was nothing more than a plot of the king's advisers, "to spoil the project of his for the nation's welfare and honour, which would in all probability have rivetted him on his throne," but for this artifice.* Alluding to the admission of non-established christians into civil and military offices, he says, "This was pretence enough for some popular preachers in the Church of England, besides some considerable men of the laity, who thought they had the only right to those places, to insinuate this manner of proceeding in the king to be no less than an entire subversion of the laws and constitution: and that more was thence to be inferred, than they were willing yet to speak out."† The innocence of this writer seems to have been as

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(H) The conjecture that De Foe published two tracts upon the subject, is founded upon the following passage in his Review:—

"He that will serve honest men, must not promise himself that he shall not anger them; must be content while he is pushing on their interest, to be out of their favour; and must run the venture of their doing him right when their rectified judgments come at the long run to be farther enlightened. I have been early exercised with this usage from honest blinded men, even from a youth, which I am obliged to expose, not to charge them, but to defend myself. I had their reproaches when I blamed their credulity and confidence in the flatteries and caresses of Popery under King James, and when I protested openly against the addresses of thanks to him for his illegal liberty of conscience, founded upon the dispensing power.

"I had their anger again, when, in print, I opposed, at the utmost hazard, the taking off the penal laws and test, and had the discouragement to be told by some grave, but weak good men, that I was a young man, and did not understand the Dissenters' interest, but was doing them harm instead of good; to which, when time undeceived them, I only returned the words of Eliphaz to Job, for which God never reproved him."—*Review*, viii. p. 442.

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 166. † Ibid. p. 167.

exemplary as his loyalty. As for Mr. Kettlewell, "he, good man, could see no pretence from the formidableness of this confederacy, from the danger of the church established, or from any other cause, temporal or spiritual, to dispense with himself herein, or to teach others to dispense with themselves as to the discharge of any relative duties to the powers ordained of God: but as he had subscribed, even so he preached, plainly and sincerely, without any limitation or reserve, or private interpretation, 'That it was not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king.'* This was certainly an honest man, whatever we may think of his intellects. Professing himself a slave, he taught slavery to others. He, therefore, preached against all tumults and rebellions, particularly that in which most of his brethren were afterwards engaged; "For, he ever thought, the best way to preserve religion was by suffering for it, and defending it within the bounds of our duty."†

The controversy upon the dispensing power, which was one of great political importance, produced a large harvest of publications; and it was with a view to caution the Dissenters against the snare that was laid for them, that De Foe now embarked in it. The title of the pamphlet usually ascribed to him, is, "A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence. London, printed for G. H. 1687." 4to. It was, however, not the work of De Foe, but of that accomplished statesman, George Saville, Marquis of Halifax. "The Letter," says Dr. Calamy, "was written with a great deal of artifice, with design to insinuate a two-fold caution: that their new friends were to be suspected; and that it would neither be christianity nor prudence to hazard the public safety, either by desire of ease or of revenge. His cautions were regarded by the wiser part of them, notwithstanding the uncertainty with what design this application was made. As thankful as they were for their ease and liberty, they were yet fearful of the issue; neither can any number of them, of any consideration, be charged with hazarding the public safety by falling in with the measures of the court, of which they had as great a dread as their neighbours: and as for revenge, though they had a fair opportunity for it, yet could they not think it a thing desirable either as men or as christians."* In reply to this work, there appeared "A Second Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesty's Gracious Declaration of Indulgence. London, 1687," 4to. It was written by a friend to the measure, who passes over the constitutional part of the question, but advances some judicious remarks upon the subject of tests, and the application of penal laws for the correction of religious opinions.

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* Kettlewell's Life, p. 168.

† Ibid, p. 181.

The title of De Foe's pamphlet has not been discovered; but in his view of the subject he is known to have coincided with the noble Marquis. Many years afterwards, he thus writes concerning it: "The next time I differed with my friends was when King James was wheedling the Dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. And, as in the first I used to say, I had rather the Popish House of Austria should ruin the Protestants in Hungaria, than that the infidel House of Ottoman should ruin both Protestant and Papist, by over-running Germany; so, in the other, I told the Dissenters I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than that the Papists should fall both upon the church and the Dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot."†

In a choice of evils, it is certainly our wisdom to select the least; at the same time, when a nation is to be plundered of its liberties, it does not seem very material whether the robber be a Protestant or a Papist.(1) There are, indeed, gradations in tyranny which give to one system a preference over another; and the ecclesiastical forms that are the nearest allied to it, are the most to be dreaded by a people jealous of their liberties. Upon this subject the history of our own country speaks with sufficient plainness, and may convince any one who is not blinded by prejudice, that a few grains of common sense are worth a thousand sophisms advanced by divines and schoolmen, in order to enslave the mind, and by that means to cheat the people of their dearest rights. The forms of religion, for which men have so furiously contended, have in reality but little to do with its essence; they are, however, of some consequence in constituting the character of a people, who will be grovelling and superstitious in proportion to the accumulation of rites and observances, which have a tendency to divert the mind from all that is practical and useful. But the grossest absurdities that have been imposed upon mankind, would be comparatively harmless if they were left to find their own level. It is the interference of the civil power that has given them currency and importance; and it is to the same source that the world is indebted for the devastation it has endured under the shocking pretence of religion.

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* Calamy's Life of Baxter, i. 376. † Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 52.

(1) "I would fain know," says a shrewd writer, "whether the word Popish added to tyranny makes it better or worse? one would think by his phrase of *Popish tyranny*, that several of our prayers in this reign had

There can be no doubt that at this time the Dissenters held the balance between the parties contending for power; and had they been any thing like politicians, they would have seized the fine opportunity for converting it to their own advantage. It was in reference to their commanding attitude, that De Foe triumphantly asks, " Where had been the Church of England at this time, humanely speaking, if the

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been pastoral. Why, tyranny is such a word, that nothing added to it can blacken it. To put a bad name upon tyranny is false heraldry. Popish and Protestant tyranny are alike, their effects are the same, and there is no difference between them but only this: that Protestant tyranny stole in upon the nation, and Popish tyranny cried 'ware horns."—*Johnson's Notes to the Pastoral Letter*, p. 4.

Dissenters had one and all joined in with the measures King James was taking to overthrow it? If, when the Prince of Orange arrived, the Dissenters had stood out and declared for King James, like the Gospellers in Suffolk, in the days of Queen Mary, your attempt had been abortive, and he might have been glad to have gone safe back again." * Their forbearance is further pourtrayed in the following passage: "When the people of England shall be told, and shall call to mind that there was a time when the Dissenters had it in their power to pay the church home for all their cruelty, plunder, and persecution, and for ever to have put it out of their power to treat them as they do now; and chose rather to be under the sovereignty of a Church of England government, than to let the church fall into the hands of her enemies, though they might have triumphed over her in her fall: they will inquire who they are who have thus maliciously railed at and abused the Dissenters, and represented them as the implacable enemies of the church? And will find it is all done to weaken the Protestant interest, and prepare us for the confusions of a Popish pretender."†

The favour shown to the Dissenters, did not fail to excite the jealousy of churchmen, but the circumstances of their affairs obliged them to smother it, and they affected the language of kindness to those whom they had hitherto treated with reproach. The folly of the Dissenters in not making terms for themselves in the helpless condition of their adversaries, is finely exposed by De Foe. After noticing the talent for dissimulation exercised by the high-church clergy at this time, he goes on to say, "Read their whining, fawning, truly canting sermons on that occasion: many of them are still to be seen, and are standing monuments of their hypocrisy; all tending to show the small difference between the church and their Dissenting brethren.

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* Review, viii. 368. † Ibid.

The dialect is well changed since. The low-churchmen were made tools of the high-church to enforce the delusion, and to enlarge in vows and promises to the Dissenters: and thus the net was spread, and the fools were caught in the snare most easily. And what was the snare? Mistake me not. It is not that I reckon the Revolution the snare, or would have had the Dissenters to join with King James to take off the penal laws and tests. No, no; I thank God I was of age then to bear my testimony against it, and to affront some who were of a different opinion. But I would have had the Dissenters to have acted like men of sense, men that had known and remembered how they had been used for twenty-seven years before, and not have suffered themselves to be drawn in to take a bare general mob-engagement in a particular of that consequence. I would have had them to make just and reasonable conditions with the churchmen, which, had they not been fools, and some others hypocrites, had been done. Not the low-churchmen only, but the high-church also, for they equally wanted the revolution, would have given you any terms: schools, academies, places, you might have had them all under hand and seal; they could not have denied you at that time. But, unhappy, foolish believers! that ventured your religion and liberty upon a parole of honour, when you might have secured it by treaty and express stipulation. The work was done; a general sort of exemption was obtained, to which we have lived to see them refuse the name of toleration; and not a Dissenter had either the brains to consider, or the thought to see, the want of the least provision for their posterity; either for the instruction of their children, or the succession of their ministry."* The reader will recollect that this was written at a time when the high-church party was in power, and strove to deprive the Dissenters by piece-meal, of the limited privileges they enjoyed by the act of Toleration.

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* Review, viii. 694—5.

Of the moderation of the Dissenters in this reign, De Foe has given a fine exemplification in the case of Jeremiah White, who had been chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and is well known for his courtship of the Protector's daughter, afterwards the Lady Faulconberg. Mr. White had been at some pains to collect a minute account of the sufferings of the Dissenters after the Restoration, and the depredations committed upon them by the church party. He had prepared lists of their ministers and others who had suffered imprisonment, distinguishing those who died or were starved in gaol; with an account of the fines levied by execution upon their estates; "and a melancholy history," observes De Foe, "it would have made." To expose this narrative to the public view, he was strongly solicited by the court, and tempted by the offer of a large reward; it being well understood that so terrible an exposure would leave an indelible blot upon the character of the English church, and thereby facilitate its downfall. Mr. White had too much generosity to embrace the opportunity for such a triumph: "He scorned the temptation, rejected the rewards, and told them he would not so far assist them to pull down the church. In short, he refused either to publish his memoranda, or so much as to show them the collections he had made, or to give them the least opportunity to do it themselves; and this purely as he saw the design of the party, which, as a fellow-protestant, as well as a Dissenter, he had more sense, honour, and Christianity than to join in."* The forbearance of this gentleman was the more exemplary, for, as De Foe observes, "The Dissenters are but men, made of the same flesh and blood, and subject to like passions with their brethren; and a sense of their former treatment might be expected to furnish them with a handle for laying the matter before the world; especially considering the recency of the facts, which thousands of witnesses were ready to attest; besides the guilt in the adverse party, ready to join with the accusation, and impose silence upon the persons." De Foe, addressing the episcopal church, goes on to say, "I need not appeal to Mr. Jeremy White for the truth of this; but appeal to those most reverend members of your assembly, who with others lately dead, gave Mr. White public thanks for his Christian and unexampled moderation, and promised to remember it whenever they should have opportunity to make returns of the like charity to the Dissenters."* If we may believe Oldmixon, Mr. White had collected the names of sixty thousand persons who were prosecuted upon a religious account, from the Restoration to the Revolution, five thousand of whom died in prison; and he is said to have told Lord Dorset, that King James offered him a thousand guineas for the manuscript, which was probably destroyed, as it has never been heard of since.†

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* Review, ii. 488.

It is now natural to make some inquiry into the return made by churchmen for this kindness of the Dissenters; and here our author will continue to help us out. "When the Church of England found herself in this danger," adds De Foe, "what did she do? She turns about to the Dissenters, talks of peace and union, forbearance and love: infinite sermons flow from the pulpit on the healing subject of peace: she treats the Dissenters with terms of brotherhood, friendship, charity, and Christian love; talks to them of some few differences, some doubtful and indifferent matters in which they may differ, and yet maintain charity as Christians, and peace as Englishmen. And what's the occasion of all this? What brought the church to this temper? Why truly, Popery was upon the throne, a high-commission court was erected, Magdalen College made a beginning of the church's ruin; and this brought these gentlemen to their senses."* It would have been well if this conciliatory language had been continued in the days of prosperity, as it might have afforded some test of its sincerity. A political religion, however, yields much the same fruits under every profession; and these are always of a poisonous nature. So it was in the present instance. De Foe, contrasting their behaviour at this time with their conduct afterwards, says, "Those who care to look back but a few years to the times of the late King James, may find a time when some of those very gentlemen who now cry out loudest of the danger of the church from Protestant-dissenters, were the forwardest to cry up peace and union, pressing the Dissenters to forget unkindnesses, and come into a general league against the danger that threatened them. These very men, who are now so hot for occasional bills, for suppressing the Dissenters' academies and schools, excluding them from places, and the like; that are for crushing their hopes, and bringing them into unheard of bondage; these are they who were for giving the Dissenters liberty, and treating them as friends. Then it was, *our brethren* the Dissenters, and *our brethren* that differ from us in some matters, and the like. But now, these parsons have forgot that they were clerks; their fears of ecclesiastical commissions and invasions are over; and they have forgotten the vows of their distress; verifying an old distich,—

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* Review, ii. 488.

† Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 715

> "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
> When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he."†

The arbitrary proceedings of the king, but more especially his open and ill-judged attack upon the established church, alienated the affections of a large proportion of his subjects, and paved the way for the approaching revolution. "The Protestants," observes a writer before quoted, "became every day more and more convinced, that nothing less than open resistance could preserve to them the enjoyment of their religious profession."* Whatever truth there may be in the remark, as it relates to a portion of them, (for a considerable body had been deprived for nearly thirty years of that enjoyment), it seems a strange doctrine as applied to men who had been all their lives preaching passive-obedience and non-resistance, until every vestige of liberty was destroyed. Even Burnet and Tillotson, who in most other respects are entitled to our veneration, endeavoured to persuade the amiable Lord Russell, "That faith and patience are the proper ways for the preservation of religion; and that the method of the gospel is to suffer persecution rather than use resistance."† This method had been long practised by the Non-conformists, more to the credit of their piety than their patriotism; but it was only preached by their opponents. The secret of their conduct is explained by another writer, who was a clergyman and a sufferer in those times. "The reason," says he, "why the clergy were so zealous for tyranny was, because it was a tyranny on their own side; their own interest and strength to crush all other Protestants lay therein: and then, according to the Greek and Latin wish to enemies, invasion so applied was a good thing, and the worse the better. That made them so very liberal of the English rights, and to sacrifice them all at once in a peace-offering to Moloch; and it was a true act of worship, for it signalized their loyalty. But when judgment began at the house of God, as Dr. Sherlock preached upon the bishops being sent to the Tower, then their note was quite altered; King James had forfeited, and ought to be deposed, and a great deal more to that purpose."‡

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* Review, ii. 202. † Ibid, iii. 491.

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* D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft, i. 330.

† Life of Lord Russell, ii. 83.

‡ Johnson's Note to the Pastoral Letter, p. 49.

From the conduct of the clergy in this and the former reign, it is quite clear, that if the king had been a Protestant of the profession of the Church of England, or even a quiet, submissive Catholic, without any zeal for his religion, confining himself solely to matters of state, and having a proper respect for church-property, he might have plundered other Protestants at his pleasure, and have trampled upon the liberties of his country, without the danger of resistance. That this is a correct statement, we have the testimony of another clerical writer; and it is the more desirable to corroborate such facts by the evidence of persons of that order. "The king," observes the writer alluded to, "seemed fully bent on the establishment of Popery and arbitrary power. If he had contented himself with the possession of the latter, without insisting upon the establishment of a religion which the English nation so justly detested, he would probably have carried his point without much difficulty. The doctrine of passive-obedience had so long been sounded in the ears of men, that they began to persuade themselves it formed, or ought to form a part of the constitution and government of the kingdom. But having discovered to his people, that he wished to be set free from the restraints of law, chiefly that he might force upon them a religion so disgusting to them; his parliament and his clergy, however devoted to him in other respects, were determined not to betray their religion to him, which they informed him was dearer to them than their lives. His obstinacy in this particular, and his impolitic violence in carrying it into effect, at a moment when his subjects were in such a frame of mind, in the end was the cause of his losing his crown."*

It was the fate of the unhappy James to be the victim of the treacherous policy which he made too decidedly the rule of his government. The whole of his public conduct, setting aside his devoted attachment to his religion, bore the evident marks of insincerity, being regulated by the maxim so often repeated and acted upon by his grandfather, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.* It is no wonder, therefore, that his chosen servants should become tutored in those arts of dissimulation which prepared them to betray him in the hour of calamity. "The title of *sacred*," observes De Foe, "has been added to that of *Majesty*, by the complaisance of a party, who have all along been ready to talk of loyalty, rather than to perform it, and who have shewn themselves wonderfully forward to tax other people with rebellion and disloyalty, in order to persuade their princes to trust them in their greatest emergencies; but when their king had the misfortune to believe them honest, he paid too dear for the mistake; for, as they were the first that prompted him to want their assistance, they were also the first that let him want it. I believe I am in no danger of being thought a Jacobite, but this I must affirm," continues De Foe, "had I told King James II. 'twas my principle that I ought not to resist him, whatever violence he offered either to me or mine; that, as a king, his person was sacred, and that if he oppressed me in the highest manner, nay, if he demanded my life or estate by force, I ought and would submit to him; and, if I could not obey his commands, I durst not oppose his punishment! had I told him, that he was king by inherent birth-right, and his power was *Jure Divino*, and therefore, to resist him in anything, though never so contrary to reason and justice, was to fight against God; and pursuant to this exposition of my loyalty, had I sworn the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the declaration, then, if ever I took arms against him, resisted or opposed him, I should have been guilty of a most horrible perjury and breach of faith, and ought never to be believed on my word or oath again."*

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* Comber's Life of Dean Comber, p. 227.

* *Jure Divino*, Pref. i.

In order to retain his subjects in their obedience, and to remind them of the passive principles they had so solemnly avowed, the king promoted the publication of various pamphlets, which were written with more or less force by the courtiers of the day. The Catholics, indignant that the virtue of loyalty should be the exclusive boast of the Church of England, published a smart pamphlet with a view to expose her pretensions, and to magnify their own superior claims. It was written with much artifice, and contained some specious arguments, amidst others of a fallacious nature; but the style was bitter and unceremonious. The title is "A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. Lond. 1687. 4to." The writer, taunting the church with her confession, that she could only be safe in a fortified place, says, "I must confess it is a great argument of her modesty, to own herself weak and unable to subsist without the support of parliamentary laws to hang, draw, and quarter her opposers, and without a coercive power too in herself, to fine and excommunicate all recusants and Non-conformists. Prayer, fasting, mortification of the flesh, and other austerities are not, it seems, so proper means to remove the fears and jealousies of her tender conscience; she must make use of more powerful engines for her own security. The primitive Christians flourished under persecution for the space of three hundred years, and the Catholics of these kingdoms have been almost continually suffering these hundred and fifty years past. If this new Protestant church be from God, why should they despair of the same providence without being guarded by so many acts of parliament? Where is the assurance that the apostolical church (as they call themselves) should have in the assistance of the Holy Ghost, who is to continue with the true church, till the consummation of the world?" These were provoking questions, and somewhat difficult to be answered by the parties concerned; but such is the force of power, that it easily cuts short an argument, as the Catholics well knew. Adversity is a good school for cooling the temper and allaying the prejudices of bigots; but whatever point there may be in the foregoing reasoning, it would have told better in the mouth of a different person; for the Catholics have been equally unwilling to trust their cause to the care of providence, and in the account of persecution have been the greater sinners of the two. However, the grave charges brought forward in this tract were speedily rebutted by church writers, and many publications were produced by both parties, who mixed up much gall with their arguments.

About a year after the king had published his declaration, he thought fit to renew it, in order to assure his subjects of his continued sentiments. An order of council was also issued to the bishops, commanding them to cause the declaration to be read in the churches of their respective dioceses. With this, some of them complied; but Sancroft and several others thought that the time was now arrived for them to make a stand. Whatever credit they acquired for their resolute conduct upon this occasion, consistency formed no part of their praise; for, as L'Estrange observes, "What man of sense could in the least imagine that our clergy, who once had obtained the highest applause for their loyalty, should at last do any thing that may seem to justify the insinuations of those who always said that Church of England loyalty would continue no longer than the prince was of their religion; for, now it looks as if our loyalty must be no longer lived than our church is in a flourishing state."*

James had been already forewarned of the little reliance that was to be placed upon the loyalty of churchmen, whose practice would never keep pace with their doctrines. His monitor was Bishop Morley, and the relator Lord Dartmouth. Not long before the death of the bishop, who was then confined to his chamber, "My father," says Lord Dartmouth,

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* Reply to the Reasons of the Oxford Clergy, &c.

"carried me with him to Farnham Castle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the bishop talked much of the Duke, and concluded with desiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-resistance, he would find himself deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the Church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very sure they would in practice. My father told me he had frequently put King James in mind of Morley's last message to him, though to very little purpose; for all the answer was, that the bishop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous."* James at last found out to his cost, that Morley was a true prophet.

The bishops held several meetings at Lambeth, relative to the order in council, and at length agreed upon a petition to the king, setting forth the reasons why they could not obey his injunction. Having obtained a private interview for the purpose, they presented it in person, upon the 18th of May, 1688, when a discussion of a singular nature took place. As soon as the king had recovered from his surprise, he charged the bishops with having raised the standard of rebellion; told them, that the dispensing power had never been questioned by the men of the Church of England; and that he insisted upon his orders being executed. The affrighted prelates, as if overcome by the grave charge, fell upon their knees, and with a martial spirit, protested their readiness to spill the last drop of their blood in his service. One of them, transported either by fear or loyalty, declared, that they were ready to die at his feet. Kenn, who spoke the most rationally, desired they might have the same liberty which the king allowed to the rest of his subjects, and left the issue of the event with God. James having dismissed them in anger, was long at a loss to know what to do. Motives of vengeance and of policy alternately took the lead in his councils ; for the court was well aware of the popularity of the bishops, who received strong testimonials from various quarters, in approbation of their conduct. They were at length cited before the privy council, to answer to the charge of misdemeanour, and there conducted themselves in a manner becoming true Englishmen. After a variety of interrogatories relative to their petition, it was resolved to proceed against them for a seditious libel, and upon their refusal to enter into recognizances for their appearance at Westminster Hall, a warrant was issued for their commitment to the tower.*

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* Dalrymple, App. P. 1, p. 289.

Nothing short of infatuation could have prompted the king to so impolitic a measure. Had he proceeded against the bishops for their resistance to his supremacy, there would have been some colour for his conduct ; but for the charge of libel in the decent exercise of an undoubted privilege, there could be no pretence, so long as the laws were in existence. James, who precipitated all his measures, was evidently unprepared for their disobedience, little expecting that those who had declaimed so much to others against resistance, would now practice it themselves. It was, therefore, with some reason that he reproached them with having preached and printed for the dispensing power, when it suited their purpose.

The sensation produced by the imprisonment of the bishops was such as had not been often witnessed in the metropolis. When they were conveyed to the Tower, multitudes flocked to see them, many prostrating themselves upon the ground to receive their blessing. To them it was a season of real triumph, for they behaved throughout with the greatest propriety, and all the disgrace that belonged to the affair stuck close to their adversaries. Many persons of consequence visited them in their captivity, as did several non-conforming ministers ; tendering their condolence and their services, and exhorting them to persevere in the same course of resistance, of which they had so happily set the example.

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* D'Oyley's Life of Sancroft, i. 250, &c.

It was not long before the verdict of a jury gave a new impulse to the public feeling. The trial of the bishops was followed by their acquittal, which occasioned the strongest demonstrations of joy in all ranks of people. Even the king's army was infected, and the news spread with rapidity through the kingdom. There have been few occasions of public rejoicing that more distinctly marked the national opinion. Bonfires, illuminations, and other tokens of satisfaction were resorted to in the metropolis; the church bells were every where set in motion; and the churches were crowded with persons eager to testify their gratitude for this signal deliverance. The prelates themelves received numerous congratulations, being hailed as the champions of their country; their portraits were exhibited in the print shops, and eagerly purchased by their admirers; and they were grouped together in spiritual caricatures, as the seven stars, and the seven golden candlesticks of the Protestant churches.

Had James possessed any political foresight, he would have begun now to retrace his steps. Instead of indulging in sullenness, and exasperation, and endeavouring to delude the people with fair promises, if he had dismissed his bad advisers, re-assembled his parliament, and resorted to a constitutional system of government, he might have preserved his crown, and the free exercise of his religion, which was the most that he was warranted to expect. But the infatuated monarch, urged on by evil counsellors, fell a victim to his bigotry, choosing rather to become the inglorious partizan of a religious sect, than the king of a free and powerful nation. The folly of his conduct was distinctly marked in its punishment; for, betrayed by his own servants, and deserted by his friends and his family, he, with scarcely any resistance, stepped out of a throne which was giving way under him; became a fugitive in the land of his birth, and was compelled, at length, to seek an asylum in a foreign country. It is a just observation of Lord Bolingbroke, that "the behaviour and conduct of King James II. would be sufficient if there was no other instance, and there are thousands to shew, that as strong prejudices, however got, are the parents, so a weak understanding is the nurse of bigotry and injustice, and violence and cruelty its offspring."*

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* Dissertation on Parties, p. 97.

CHAPTER IX.

Supplications of the Church in her Extremity.—Overtures to the Dissenters.—Sancroft proposes a Reformation in the Church.—His Healing Instructions to the Clergy.—The good of Affliction.—Its Effects upon Sancroft.—And upon the rest of the Clergy.—The Tories become alienated from James.—Bolingbroke's Remarks upon their Conduct.—Invitation to the Prince of Orange.—His Declaration.—Disingenuity of the Bishops.—Arrival of the Prince.—De Foe's Account of the Sensation produced by it.—Its Effect upon the King.—Religious Mockery.—James deserted by his Army.—And his Family.—De Foe's Account of the Alarm occasioned by the Flight of the Princess.—Some Skirmishing at Reading.—De Foe's Narrative of the Behaviour of the Irish there.—The King leaves London in Disguise.—And Embarks for France.—Detected and brought to Feversham.—De Foe's Account of his Ill-usage there.—James returns to London.—Leaves the Kingdom.—De Foe's Reflections upon that Event.—James's Modern Admirers.—Causes of his Mis-government.—His merciless Character.—Anecdote of his Perfidy.

1688.

The gulph which had long swallowed up the liberties of the nation, and was now opening still wider to receive the parliamentary church, had the effect of awakening the attention of considerate men, and of promoting that union of parties in which alone consisted any hope of salvation. The bishops, grown more bold by their acquittal, applied themselves with increased energy to the defence of their immunities; and, now perceiving the danger into which they had brought themselves, supplicated the men whom they had been persecuting as "fanatics," to come over to their assistance.* Sancroft, whose temper seems to have been softened by affliction, evinced a disposition to promote a further reformation in the church. In order to this, he lent his sanction to a revisal of the liturgy, and an abatement of those ceremonies that were allowed to be indifferent, committing the prosecution of the work to some moderate divines whom he had called in to his assistance. Still further to ingratiate himself with the Dissenters, whose leaders had shown a readiness to make common cause against the court, he sent certain articles to the clergy of his province, exhorting them "To have a very tender regard to their brethren the Protestant Dissenters, to visit them at their houses, and to receive them kindly at their own; to treat them fairly whenever they met them; to take all opportunities of convincing them that the bishops of the church are sincere and irreconcileable enemies to Popery; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of the bishops to the contrary, were altogether groundless; and in the last place, warmly and most affectionately to exhort them to unite in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace for an union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies."†

How strangely are men affected by their outward circumstances! When the world looks pleasantly upon them, they are proud, insolent, overbearing, and intolerant; but its smiles are no sooner turned to frowns, than they become humble and submissive, drop their ferocity, and present us with human nature in its most amiable form. In like manner, the differences amongst Christians, which are magnified into importance by the jaundiced eye of bigotry, and are made the occasion of deadly hatred, lose all their noxious qualities as they approximate in their sufferings. A sense of common danger unites apparently discordant materials; and by refining the spirits of men, extracts the wholesome fruits of religion from the poison that surrounds them. National churches are always intolerant to other sects; but when they are reduced to one common level, the sting is withdrawn, and their contentions become perfectly harmless.

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* Cunningham's Great Britain, i. 80.

† Echard's Hist. of Eng. ii. 1107.

The advances now made to the Dissenters bore upon their face a suspicious character; for, as they came from men who had acted towards them more like barbarians than brethren, there was just reason to suspect them of more craft than honesty. Sancroft's instructions to his clergy are, however, very excellent and Christian-like; and, as the venerable prelate did not live to swerve from them, it would be unjust to impeach his integrity. His character, indeed, shone brightest in adversity; for, although he refused the oaths at the Revolution, yet there can be no doubt that he acted from a sense of duty: and the conscientious scruples of a respectable old man, even when founded in mistake, are entitled to our respect. It would have been well if others of the clergy, who held similar language at this time, had manifested their sincerity by their subsequent conduct. With too many it was the result of policy, built upon fear rather than good feeling, and entitling them to no better character than that of hypocrites. The professions of men in adversity, if at variance with their previous conduct, are always to be received with caution; nor does the assumption of religion entitle them to any greater credit than others, as the times now under consideration sufficiently attest. It is painful to record the failings of men, who, from their education and office, should have known better; but ecclesiastical history is unfortunately too full of such examples, and it is fit that they should be held up as beacons to others.

But the approximation of men from a sense of their mutual danger, was not confined to the ecclesiastical orders. Many of the most distinguished Tories, who had carried their notions of the royal authority to the highest pitch, now concurred with the Whigs in the opinion that it was become necessary to call in foreign aid, in order to re-establish the constitution upon the footing of law and equity. The greater part of them, however, seem to have been actuated chiefly by a regard for the preservation of their religion; for, notwithstanding the indifference to practical piety that often accompanies exalted station, there is a sort of honour indulged by most men, that makes them jealous of the forms and opinions implanted in them by education. Of this, two eminent examples were furnished by Admiral Herbert and Colonel Kirk, the latter of whom had been governor of Tangiers. "Herbert, though a professed libertine, and a man of unbounded expense, resigned the lucrative offices of vice-admiral and master of the robes, rather than comply with his master's intreaties for the repeal of the tests; and when Kirk was urged by the king to turn Catholic, he excused himself by saying, "He had given a promise to the Emperor of Morocco, that if he ever changed his religion, he should become a Mussulman."* With slender claims to patriotism, one of his courtiers declared, "In all things but this the king may command me;"† a sentiment but little congenial with that love of liberty which is of more consequence to nations than the ecclesiastical modes they so zealously contend for. But, whatever motives now governed the Tories, it is certain that both parties had benefitted by their experience, and saw the necessity, upon this occasion, of sacrificing their party to their country. "The slavish principles of passive-obedience and non-resistance," observes a distinguished political writer, "which had skulked, perhaps, in some old homily before King James I., but was talked, written, and preached into vogue in that inglorious reign, and in those of his three successors, were renounced at the Revolution by the last of the several parties who declared for them. Not only the laity, but the clergy embraced and co-operated in the deliverance which the Prince of Orange brought them. Some of our prelates joined to invite him over; and their brethren refused to sign an abhorrence of this invitation. The University of Oxford offered him their plate, and associated for him against the king. In one word, the conduct of the Tories at this crisis, was such as might have inclined a man to think they had never held resistance unlawful, but had only differed with the Whigs about the degree of oppression, or of danger, which it was necessary to wait, in order to sanctify resistance."* (K)

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* Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 154. † Coxe's Life of Marlborough, i. 34.

The eyes of all parties were now directed to the Prince of Orange as their natural protector; not only from his affinity to the crown, but as being at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. Application was therefore made to him by the disaffected in England, and the negotiation being brought to a conclusion, the prince prepared for his expedition.

Previously to the invasion, he published a declaration of his motives for undertaking it, intimating that he had been invited by the lords spiritual and temporal; and the paper was widely circulated in England. King James having procured a copy, was startled at its contents, and immediately assembled such bishops as were in town, in order to ascertain its truth. Compton, who is well known to have joined in the invitation, artfully replied, "That he was confident the rest of the bishops would as readily answer in the negative as himself."* Having severally denied any participation in the design, the king wished them to sign a written declaration expressing their abhorrence of it. This occasioned a long debate, in the course of which they were profuse in their professions of loyalty, but absolutely refused compliance with the king's wishes. The mode in which they evaded it bore evident marks of disingenuity. Who, for instance, would give them credit for a reluctance to meddle with politics? But consistency was not to be expected from men who wavered between principle and self interest, and were true to neither. The conduct of James throughout the conference was marked by candour and good temper; nor did he require any more than he was entitled to expect from men who had gone so far in their professions of subserviency. Bishop Sprat, a time-serving prelate, intimates that their refusal to stand by the doctrine of passive obedience saved episcopacy in England; which, he supposes, would have been otherwise sacrificed to the Presbyterian party. Although there are good reasons to doubt his conclusion, yet, so barefaced a juggle with conscience is not creditable to the parties concerned.

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* Bolingbroke on Parties, p. 105.

(K) De Foe, alluding to the resistance now practised by churchmen, observes, "The Church of England in this did no more than give testimony to the general practice of ages, both in this and all nations of the world; who, by innumerable examples, have declared it a law of nature as well as nations, and have on all occasions pursued it, 'that when princes break the compacts of government, tyrannize and oppress their subjects, God, by the hands of those subjects, has thought fit to disengage the distressed country from the cruelty and encroachment of their princes, and deposing and disarming them as monsters and wild beasts, has placed other princes, whether of the line or no, to govern in their stead.'"—*Review*, ii. 307.

The Prince having provided for the defence of his own country, put to sea the 19th of October 1688; and after encountering some damage from a storm, which obliged him to put back and re-fit, he reached Torbay in safety, the fourth of November, being the anniversary both of his birth and marriage. The following day he landed his army, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, and having refreshed his troops, marched them to Exeter.

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* Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 212.

The impression produced in various parts of the kingdom by the intelligence of his arrival, is thus described by De Foe. "At the landing of the Prince of Orange, in order to deliver these nations, at their own request, from the tyranny and bondage of absolute dominion, the people of England, with one voice, and as with one consent, rose in arms for their deliverance. Where they could, they joined with their deliverer; where they could not do that, they assembled together, headed by their respective gentlemen and the nobility of the country, and drew into one great body, as at York, Boden-down, Nottingham, and the like. And as things grew higher, the common people drew into bodies, rabbles, tumults, and mobs. What violences were committed, I care not to examine; I shall not justify the conduct of the mob, no, not against the worst instrument of King James's ill conduct. They acted without bounds, government, reason, or honour; and the Parliament thought fit to bury it in silence, by passing an act to prevent prosecutions upon trespasses of that kind. The people of Scotland taking arms at the same time, acted their part; and as they had in many places been treated in a most bloody and inhuman manner, by the episcopal people in power, under King James and King Charles's reign, of which I would advise those people never to oblige us to be particular, it was feared, and indeed expected, that the poor people would have been so exasperated by the dreadful usage they had received, that they would have run into some terrible excesses, and in their fury have torn many of their murderers in pieces. For, as there were few families in the *West* but what had lost some near relation or other in the butcheries of those times, so many of the very instruments of those cold-blooded murders, were then actually living among them. However, I do not find that one drop of blood was spilt by them any where, which I think is what could not be promised from any people in the world, in their circumstances. All the real violence I find them charged with, was the driving away the curates (so they call the episcopal ministers), from the parish churches, and restoring the Presbyterian worship in their room; which they might have forborne, indeed, because it was presently after done by the parliament."*

When the news of these proceedings reached London, James was panic struck, and proceeded immediately to undo some of those acts of government which had given so much offence. With an imbecility that could amuse only the superstitious, he gave orders to elevate the host during forty days, for his protection. He also issued proclamations that were but little regarded; consulted the bishops who wished well to his enemies; and gave commissions to several persons to raise regiments for his service. Both parties wearied heaven with their prayers for the success or disappointment of their different princes; and as the clergy were tied to authorised formularies, their prayers were often in contradiction to their secret wishes. With the profane, this solemn mockery tended only to increase their contempt for religion, whilst serious men regarded it as unfavourable to the sincerity of their instructors.

As matters now wore a serious appearance, King James ordered his troops to rendezvous near Salisbury; but the little dependance that was to be placed upon them appeared by their drinking the prince's health in their progress. It is not surprising, therefore, that many went over to him, as did several noblemen with large bodies of troops; and the defection became general throughout the kingdom. This determined the king to join his army immediately, and he arrived at Salisbury the 19th of September. But there, his ill-fortune followed him; for, the next day, Lord Churchill, who commanded a brigade of five thousand men, deserted to the prince; as did several other officers with their followers. Of those who remained behind, many declared that they could not in conscience fight against a prince who had come over with no other design than to preserve their religion and liberties. De Foe's remark upon this, is, "The common phrase of the addresses which the gentlemen of the non-resisting party in King James's time, used to him was—That they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But when that king came to face the Prince of Orange at Salisbury, they all forsook him, and first or last went over to his enemy."*

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* Review, viii. 17—18.

But the severest trial remained behind. Prince George of Denmark having deserted to the enemy, his Princess, who was in London, hearing of it, immediately withdrew from court, and under the protection of Compton, bishop of London, fled to Northampton, where a troop of horse was raised for her guard, and the command taken by the bishop. This prelate had been bred to the profession of arms, and seems to have mistaken his path when he quitted it for the church. The desertion of his own family gave a severe blow to the unhappy James, who could not refrain from tears when he heard of it. De Foe, alluding to the event, gives the following account of the sensation which it produced in the metropolis: "I cannot but remember the consternation among the people when it was first noised abroad that the Princess was missing; it being at first warm among the people that they had murdered or made away with her, I want words to express the compassion that appeared in the countenances of the people: and, so much was she then beloved, that the very soldiers talked of setting Whitehall on fire, and cutting the throats of all the Papists about the court. The people ran raving up and down, and the confused crowds thronged in the apartments at Whitehall, inquiring of every one they met, if they had seen the Princess? Had it not presently been made public that she was withdrawn;

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* *Jure Divino*, B. iv. p. 17.

nay, had not the letters she left behind her been made public, some fatal disturbance had been seen in the very palace, and that within a very few hours. Nor had the departure of the Princess been made public at all, nor the letters shewn, for it was the undoubted interest of the court at that time to conceal it as long as they could, had they not plainly seen the fury of the multitude, who began to threaten terrible things, and had they not justly apprehended the consequences."* The Bishop of London conveyed the Princess to Nottingham, where the Earl of Devonshire gave her a guard of two hundred horse, by whom she was safely conducted to Oxford, where her husband met her with a strong detachment from the Prince of Orange.(L)

The affairs of James were now in a desperate condition. Unable to make head against the prince, who was upon his march to Salisbury, he retreated with a part of his forces to London. Some of them having fallen back upon Reading, a skirmishing took place there between the detachments of both armies. It happened that some regiments of Irish had been posted in that and the neighbouring towns, where they threatened to plunder and murder the inhabitants. This induced them to call in the aid of some Dutch soldiers for their protection, which produced some hard blows from both sides; but the Irish being overpowered were compelled to retreat, and the people were delivered from the danger they so much apprehended.

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* Review, ii. 273.

(L) When the doctrine of non-resistance was again trumpeted from the pulpit, in the reign of this princess, De Foe reminded those preachers of what had taken place at a former period under the sanction of their own queen; and he produces the following warrant from the high-constable of Warwick, for raising the posse of the county. "Warwick, S. S. To the constable of Stratford borough. Whereas Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark hath escaped out of the hands of her enemies into these parts, requiring protection, therefore the deputy-lieutenants commanded me by warrant to issue out my precepts to every petty constable within my division, to raise all the trained soldiers within their respective parishes, horse and foot; and they are all personally to appear at Warwick some time to day, the 12th inst. December, with each one musquet, fourteeen bullets, and thirty days' pay: fail not. Tho. Wallford."—*Review*, vii. 94.

Of this affair, and the subsequent proceedings of the Irish, De Foe has related a more particular account than is to be found in our histories; and, as it throws some light upon his own affairs at this time, when he seems to have joined the Prince of Orange, an extract from it shall be inserted. "I cannot omit to observe one thing," says he, "of which I was an eye-witness, and which will solve a difficulty that to this day has puzzled the understandings of a great many people, if not of the whole nation; namely, that here began the universal alarm that spread over the whole kingdom, almost at the same time, of the Irish being coming to cut every body's throat; the brief account of which, because it has something curious in it, I believe will be agreeable.

"As the terror which the threatenings of these Irishmen had brought upon the whole town of Reading, obliged the magistrates and chief of the inhabitants to apply to the Prince of Orange's army for immediate help, so you cannot doubt but that many of the inhabitants fled for their lives by all the ways they could. And this was chiefly in the night; for in the day, the soldiers who had their eyes every where, stopped them, and would not permit them to stir, which still increased their terror. Those that got away were in the utmost fright and amazement, and had nothing less in their mouths than that the Irish would, and by that time had burnt the town, and cut the throats of all the people, men, women, and children. I was then at Windsor, and in the very interval of all this fright, King James being gone, and the army retreated from Salisbury, the Lord Feversham calls the troops together, and, causing them to lay down their arms, disbands them, and gives them leave, every man, to go whither they would. The Irish dragoons which had fled from Reading, rallied at Twyford, and having lost not many of their number, for there were not above twelve men killed, they marched on for Maidenhead, swearing and cursing after a most soldierly manner, that they would burn all the towns wherever they came, and cut the throats of the people. However, whether it was they thought themselves too near the Dutch, or what else was the matter, they did not offer to take quarters at Maidenhead, the town also being full of King James's troops; so they marched on for Colebroke, blustering in the same manner of what they would do when they came there. The town of Colebroke had notice of their coming, and how they had publicly threatened to burn the town and murder all the people; but happily for them, they had quartered there a regiment of Scots' foot, which King James had caused to march from Scotland to his aid, and they had with them, as was the usage of all the foot in those times, two pieces of cannon, and they stood just in the market-place, pointing westward, to the street where these gentlemen were to come." In their distress, they applied to the Scots' colonel for protection, which he readily granted; and De Foe has given a minute detail of the preparations that were made to receive the ruffians, as well as of what took place upon their arrival. Being refused admittance, "and having no stomach to engage, they desisted; but raged and stormed at such a rate," observes our author, "as I cannot express; and taking the road to Staines, swore they would go thither and burn the town, and kill man, woman and child. The people of Colebroke, alarmed for the safety of their neighbours, sent express upon express to acquaint them with their danger; and it is impossible to express the consternation of the people upon the arrival of the messengers. Away they ran out of the town, dark, and rainy and midnight as it was, some to Kingston, some over the heath to Hounslow and Brentford, some to Egham, and some to Windsor, with the dreadful news; and by the time they reached those places, their fears had turned their story from saying they *would* burn and kill, to, they *had* burned and killed, and were coming to do the like. The same alarm was carried by others to Uxbridge, for thither the dragoons were for marching at first; and thus it spread like undulations of the waters in a pond, when a flat stone is cast upon the surface. I rode the next morning," says De Foe, "to Maidenhead. At Slough, they told me Maidenhead was burnt; and Uxbridge and Reading, and I know not how many more were destroyed; and when I came to Reading, they told me Maidenhead and Oakingham were burnt, and the like. From thence I went to Henley, where the Prince of Orange, with the second line of his army, entered that very afternoon, and there they had the same account, with the news of King James's flight,"*

The unhappy king, finding himself deserted by his subjects, had no other course before him but to make trial of a treaty. He therefore commissioned three noblemen to negotiate with the Prince, but before they could return with the answer, James, who had previously sent away his queen, quitted London in disguise, and carrying away the great seal, threw it into the Thames that no business might be legally transacted in his absence. This flight of the king was construed into a desertion of the throne. A general consternation ensuing, about thirty peers and bishops met at Guildhall, and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they agreed upon an address of adherence to the Prince of Orange. Measures were also taken for preserving the peace of the metropolis.

In the mean time, the king had proceeded to the Kentish coast, and embarked on board a vessel with the intention of going to France; but being detained by the wind, Sir Edward Hales, one of his attendants, sent his footman to the post-office at Feversham, where his livery was recognized.

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* Tour through Great Britain, vol. ii. Let. 1, pp. 64—70

Being traced to the vessel, it was immediately boarded by some people from the town, who, mistaking the king for a Popish priest, searched his person, and took from him four hundred guineas, with some valuable seals and jewels. The rank of the individual treated with so much indignity, was not long undiscovered; for, there being a constable present who happened to know him, he threw himself at his feet, and begging him to forgive the rudeness of the mob, ordered restitution of what had been taken from him. The king receiving the jewels and the seals, distributed the money amongst them; but he always retained a bitter sense of their ill usage. After this, he was conducted to Feversham, where fresh insults were heaped upon fallen majesty; which produced the following remarks from De Foe: "I must mention it to the reproach of the people of Feversham," says he, "let the conduct of that unfortunate prince be what it will, that the fishermen and rabble can never be excused, who treated the king, even after they were told who he was, with the utmost indecency; using his majesty with such indignity in his person, such insolence in their behaviour, and giving him such opprobrious and abusive language, and searching him in the rudest and most indecent manner, and indeed rifling him, insomuch that the king himself said he was never more apprehensive of his life than at that time. He was afterwards carried by them up to the town, where he was not much better treated for some time, till some neighbouring gentlemen of the county came in, who understood their duty better, and by whom he was at least preserved from further violence, till coaches and a guard came by the Prince of Orange's order, to bring him with safety and freedom to London."*

De Foe seems to have been at Feversham at the period referred to, and notes down another insult inflicted by an individual upon the unhappy monarch. "When his majesty was there," says he, "he found himself in the hands of the rabble, who, upon the noise of the king's being taken, thronged from all parts of the country to Feversham, so that the king found himself surrounded, as it were, with an army of furies; the whole street, which is very wide and large, being filled, and thousands of the noisy gentry got together. His majesty, who knew well enough the temper of the people at that time, but not what they might be pushed upon to do at such a juncture, was very uneasy, and spoke to some of the gentlemen who came with more respect, and more like themselves, to the town upon that surprising occasion. The king told them he was in their hands, and was content to be so, and they might do what they would with him; but whatever they thought fit to do, he desired they would quiet the people, and not let him be delivered up to the rabble, to be torn to pieces. The gentlemen told his majesty, they were sorry to see him used so ill, and would do any thing in their power to protect him; but that it was not possible to quell the tumult of the people. The king was distressed to the last degree; the people shouting, and pressing in a frightful manner to have the door opened. At length, his majesty observing a forward gentleman among the crowd, who ran about from one party to another, hallooing, and animating the people, the king sent to tell him he desired to speak with him. The message was delivered with all possible civility, and the little Massinello was prevailed with to come up stairs. The king received him with a courtesy rather equal to his present circumstances than to his dignity; told him what he was doing might have an event worse than he intended; that he seemed to be heating the people up for some mischief, and that, as he had done him no personal wrong, why should he attack him in this manner? That he was in their hands, and they might do what they pleased; but he hoped they did not design to murder him. The fellow stood, as it were, thunderstruck, and said not one word. The king proceeding, told him he found he had some influence with the rabble, and desired he would pacify them; that messengers were gone to the Parliament at London, and that he desired only they would be quiet till their return. What the fellow answered to the king I know not; but as I immediately inquired, they told me he did not say much but this: 'What can I do with them? and what would you have me do with them?' But as soon as the king had done speaking, he turned short, and made to the door as fast as he could to go out of the room. As soon as he got fairly to the stair-head, and saw his way open, he turns short about to the gentlemen, to one of whom he had given the same churlish answer, and raising his voice so that the king, who was in the next room, should be sure to hear him, he says, 'I have a bag of money as long as my arm, halloo, boys, halloo!' The king was so filled with contempt and just indignation at the low-spirited insolence of the purse-proud wretch, that it quite took off the horror of the rabble, and only smiling, sat down and said, 'Let them alone, let them do their worst.' It seems, the man was a retired country grocer; and De Foe, who had a personal knowledge of the whole affair, relates it for the purpose of shewing, that to be vain of mere wealth, denotes a baseness of soul, and is often accompanied by a conduct unworthy of a rational creature.*

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* Tour through Great Britain, vol. i. Let. ii. p. 31.

In the midst of his distress at Feversham, the king applied for protection to the clergyman of the place, who treated him with cool indifference. It is thus noticed by De Foe: "When King James was taken at Sheerness, and had fallen into the hands of the rabble, he applied himself to a clergyman who was there, in words to this effect: 'Sir, 'tis men of your cloth have reduced me to this condition; I desire you will use your endeavour to still and quiet the people, and disperse them, that I may be freed from this tumult.' The gentleman's answer was cold and insignificant; and going down to the people, he returned no more to the king. Several of the gentry and clergy thereabout," adds our author, "who had formerly preached and talked up this mad doctrine, never offered the king their assistance in that distress, which, as a man, whether prince or no, any man would have done: it therefore, to me, renders their integrity suspected, when they pretended to an absolute submission, and only meant that they expected it from their neighbours, whom they designed to oppress, but resolved never to practise the least part of it themselves, if ever it should look towards them."[*] In another place, De Foe observes, I never was, I thank God for it, one of those that betrayed him, or any one else: I was never one that flattered him in his arbitrary proceedings, or made him believe I would bear oppression and injustice with a tame Issachar-like temper: those that did so, and then flew in his face, I believe, as much betrayed him as Judas did our Saviour; and their crime, whatever the Protestant interest gained by it, is no way lessened by the good that followed."[†]

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* Complete Tradesman, ii. 250—254.

The king's return to London somewhat perplexed the Prince, who, not thinking it prudent for them to be there together, signified to him the necessity of his removal; and Ham House was mentioned as a suitable retreat. But the king preferred going to Rochester, with the intention of escaping from thence to France. The precaution, however, was unnecessary, as no party had any intention of doing him personal harm; and the Prince gave orders that in all his movements no restraint should be put upon his liberty. Indeed, the Dutch soldiers always paid him more respect than his own guards; and to them he was chiefly indebted for his personal safety. In compliance with his wishes, he was conducted safely to Rochester, his moveable wardrobe being sent before him; and after continuing there five days, he departed the kingdom, on the 23rd of December, never to return more.

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[*] *Jure Divino,* B. iv. p. 18. [†] Review, vii. p. 303.

In this easy manner terminated a despotism which had been acquiring strength for nearly thirty years; until the liberties of the people were buried under the throne, in order that their minds might be enslaved by an unmanly superstition. "The flight of the king," observes De Foe, "and the sudden fall of the whole party, could be no more foreseen than the day of judgment; nor could the wisest man in the nation have imagined so complete and bloodless a victory could have been obtained over so complicated, and so long concerted, and so well supported a tyranny; our deliverance was like a dream to us, and like a clap of thunder to our enemies."*

Although the conduct of James was such as to entitle him to little commiseration, yet succeeding times have produced his admirers and apologists, arising partly from the ascendancy of Tory principles, and partly from that strong feeling which leads us all to sympathise with the unfortunate. It is not to be doubted that his mis-government is to be traced to the bad principles instilled into him in early life, and fostered by his subsequent connexions. Taught from his youth to believe in the celestial origin of the kingly office, and that with this charter from heaven it was blasphemy in subjects to resist his will; doctrines that were sanctioned in the seats of learning, and by the authorised teachers of religion. Tutored, also, in a religious belief that exacted a blind submission to a supposed infallible head; it was not possible, unless by the intervention of a miracle, that James could be any other than a despotic prince. So far as respects the liberty of the subject, the rights of property, freedom of worship, and a government according to law; there were as strong reasons for resistance when Monmouth landed, as there were afterwards; but James had not then made his open attack upon the church, nor relaxed in the ancient practice of making converts to the faith by persecution: upon these accounts Monmouth failed of success, and his unfortunate followers were hanged for rebels; but the next rebellion, which was headed by churchmen, being more successful, became a lawful resistance, and the misguided monarch was the sacrifice.

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* Review, iv. 576.

The fate of James would have been more entitled to pity, if he had not stained his character by so many acts of wanton and cold-blooded cruelty. That his merciless character was well known to the nation, appears by the intrepid retort of Colonel Ayloffe, who had been condemned to death, but was advised by James to make some disclosures, it being in his power to pardon. "I know," says he, "it is in your power, but it is not in your nature to pardon."* That compassion was a total stranger to his breast, no one can doubt, who reads the following affecting narrative. Monsieur Roussel, a French Protestant divine, of great learning and integrity, and minister of the Reformed Church at Montpelier, in France, having witnessed the demolition of his own place of worship soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, ventured, at the desire of his people, to preach in the night-time upon its ruins, and was attended by some thousands of his flock. For this offence, he was condemned by the intendant of Languedoc to be broke upon the wheel; but having withdrawn from the place, it was ordered that he should be hanged in effigy. After encountering numerous hazards, he succeeded in effecting his escape from France, and, reaching Ireland, was chosen pastor of the French church in Dublin. James, who for the sake of courting popularity, had formerly affected a charitable disposition towards the French refugees, threw off the mask when he landed in that country, and was surrounded by French counsellors. Being no longer under any temptation to disguise his natural temper, and his hatred to the reformed religion, he committed one of those breaches of good faith which must consign his name to infamy. For, instead of protecting a stranger who had been persecuted in his own country, for a conscientious discharge of his religious duties, and had sought an asylum under the laws of another, where he had lived for some years in peaceable exile, the base wretch delivered up this unoffending person to the French Ambassador, Count D'Avaux, who sent him in chains to France, there to undergo the terrible punishment prepared for him by his inhuman murderers.* Such an action requires no comment; nor can any term of reproach be too strong to designate the monster who could lend himself to its perpetration.

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* Dalrymple's Memoirs, i. 130.

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* Oldmixon's History of England, iii. 18.

CHAPTER X.

The Prince of Orange arrives in London.—Meeting of the Convention-Parliament.—Debates upon the Settlement of the Nation.—Difficulties started by James's Friends.—A Precedent taken from the History of Sweden.—Reason prevails over Authority.—Independent conduct of the Prince.—De Foe present at the Debates.—His remarks upon Political Oaths.—He never owned King James.—The King refutes the political theories of his Friends.—The Throne given to the Prince and Princess of Orange.—Settlement of the Oaths.—Sophistical Distinction set up by the Clergy.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—His Reflections upon the Objects of the Revolution.—He annually commemorates the event.—His residence at Tooting.

1689.

Upon the day of the King's departure from London, which was the 18th of December, the Prince of Orange arrived there to the great joy of the people. He immediately convened about seventy peers at St. James's, and desired them, in conjunction with the city magistracy, and such commoners as had served in any of King Charles's parliaments, to meet together, and consider of the best methods for calling a free parliament, and settling the kingdom. Accordingly, as soon as they had certain notice of the king's departure, the lords assembled in their usual place at Westminster, and agreed upon an address to the Prince, in which the Commons concurred, requesting him to take upon him the administration of public affairs, both civil and military, until the meeting of a convention-parliament, which they desired him to summon by letter, addressed to the proper authorities, for the 22nd day of January ensuing.

The convention-parliament having met at the time appointed, proceeded to elect a Speaker for each house, when the choice fell upon the Marquis of Halifax for the Lords, and Henry Powle for the Commons. Before they entered upon the business of a permanent settlement, they voted an address to the Prince, requesting him in the mean time to continue the government; and this was the only unanimous resolution to which they came. Although most of them had been engaged in bringing about the Revolution, and could expect nothing less from the return of the king than the most deadly vengeance, yet there was still a numerous party in both houses that retained their former opinions of the kingly office, and were unwilling to give up the title of James; secretly hoping that he might be restored at some future day, without any danger to their religion and liberties.

Fortunately for the nation, the majority did not fall in with the casuistry of his friends, but proceeded to deprive him of a crown, which his mis-government had rendered him unworthy to wear. After a warm debate in the Commons, which lasted several hours, they came to the following remarkable vote without a division. "Resolved, That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This was followed by a vote, declaring Popery to be inconsistent with the English constitution, and excluding for ever all Roman Catholics from the succession to the crown. To this, the Lords gave their concurrence; adding a clause, "That no king should in future marry a Catholic." The prejudices in favour of hereditary right, gave rise to some curious debates, and contradictory votes in both houses. It was agreed that James had broken the original contract, and that he should be no longer king; but how to get rid of his title, or to reconcile their renunciation of his authority, with their oaths of allegiance, were points they could not easily settle. It was at length agreed that he had abdicated the throne, but not without much angry discussion between the two houses.

Much of the difficulty in the discussion of the settlement, arose from too strong an attachment to forms and precedents; not considering that the laws of reason are paramount to former usage, and may be resorted to for fixing a precedent in one age with as much propriety as in another. Although the English history had furnished no case exactly parallel to that of James's, yet there had been at least three examples of former kings who were dethroned by their subjects, and compelled to abdicate. If these signed away their crown, yet, as it was a compulsory act, their claim in *foro conscientiæ* was as good as that of James, and could not be debarred by force. Hereditary right, if it has any existence, can only be waived by a voluntary cession, which certainly was not the case in these instances; so that whatever logic was applied to distinguish them from the case of James, was a mere waste of words.

To reconcile those who were willing enough to get rid of James, but had scruples about his title, the address of Mr. Somers fortunately stepped in with a case in point, drawn from the history of a neighbouring kingdom. Sigismund, heir to the crown of Sweden, like James, became a convert to the Catholic religion before his accession, which occasioned his future subjects to look forward to that event with dismal apprehensions. These, upon his advancement to the throne, he in some measure allayed, by the most solemn promises to maintain the laws and religion of his country; but it was not long before he broke through his engagements by erecting a popish church in the capital, conferring the highest offices of trust upon persons of his own religion, and putting the garrisons into their hands. These acts of treachery aroused his subjects to the defence of their religion, and they made common cause against him. Sigismund fled into Poland, of which country he had been elected king; and the states of Sweden having assembled at Stockholm, declared his abdication, renounced his family, and settled the crown upon the next Protestant heir, the Duke of Sudermania. A narrative of this affair, extracted from the Swedish annals, was published during the debates in the Convention, probably by Mr. Somers. It is entitled, "The Causes and Manner of Deposing a Popish King in Sweden, truly described. Printed 1688," and may be found in the Somers's Collection of Tracts.

The necessity that now existed for dispensing with forms and precedents, led to the serious examination of many important political questions; and the discussion they underwent from the press, occasioned a favourable revolution in public opinion. As the notion of a Divine right had received its support chiefly from the clergy, it greatly lessened their authority in such matters, and consigned them over as fit subjects for some eastern monarchy. However the former age had been blinded by their casuistry, a practical experience of its bad effects had shown the necessity of an appeal to reason, which discovered truths that were worth a thousand abstract theories, invented to flatter the selfish feelings of despots, and to assist them in plundering the defenceless. The credit they derived from Homilies, Canons, University-decrees, and the writings of ecclesiastics, tended only to lessen the value of such documents, and to betray the fallibility of their authors. As for the pretence of Divine authority, it could mislead only the ignorant and the unwary; for God is no more the author of monarchies than of republics; nor of either, than of the trades and professions that are practised in them. This absurdity was no novelty in politics, but had been resorted to in all ages, and under various religions, to sanction the usurpation of the few over the many. The resistance to King James could only be justified upon the ground of his responsibility to the nation; and it was the one acted upon, notwithstanding the sophistry of the high clergy, to impose a tyrant, under the pretence of his being the vicegerent of God. The subject was ably argued in print at this time, in "An Argument for Self-Defence, written about the year 1687, never before published, and now offered to the consideration of the gentlemen of the Middle Temple, 1689." It was suggested by the well-known address to James II. from that society.

During the whole of the debates, the prince conducted himself in the most independent manner. Although he was so much interested in their result, he never took the pains to influence the vote of a single individual. So jealous was he of any interference, that when the citizens of London prepared to address the Lords in his favour, he instantly sent to the Lord Mayor, requesting him to prevent it. At length finding his silence to be misconstrued, he sent for some of the Lords, and told them, "He had been till then silent, because he would not say or do any thing that might seem in any sort to take from any person the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of such importance: he was resolved neither to court nor threaten any one. Some were for putting the government in the hands of a regent: he would say nothing against it, if it was thought the best means of settling their affairs, only he thought it necessary to tell them that he would not be the regent; so if they continued in that design, they must look out for some other person to put in that post: nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the government, unless it was put in his person, and that for term of life. If they thought fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them, but would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs. He assured them, that whatever others might think of a crown, it was no such thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleased without it. In the end," he said, " he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only for the life of another;" alluding to his wife, in whom some had proposed to vest the sovereignty. When this discourse was divulged abroad, it contributed not a little to bring the debates to a speedy termination.

De Foe, who had carefully watched the progress of the Revolution, and taken a deep interest in all its circumstances, was present in the convention-parliament, and listened with no ordinary anxiety to the debates. He saw the dilemma to which many of the members were reduced, in consequence of their having sworn allegiance to King James; and the shifts they resorted to for the purpose of satisfying their consciences, gave him a strong disgust at the unnecessary number of political oaths. He forcibly urges the sin of government in imposing, and that of the people in taking them, when inconsistent with their duty to God and to their country; and contends, that these crimes sometimes rendered the breaking such oaths absolutely necessary, and therefore lawful. " And here, by the bye," says he, " I cannot but acknowledge, I think that multiplying oaths has been always a token of two things. First. That the sovereigns had something in view to impose upon their people, which they had reason to believe they would not easily comply with. Secondly. That they had some snare to draw the people into by these oaths: and this made those two reigns heap oaths, tests, sacraments, and all sorts of chains and fetters upon the consciences of the people; a crime not only mischievous in its nature, but in its consequences, and which has rendered oaths so familiar among us, that they lose their solemnity, which is the great efficient in an oath, and growing into contempt, are as easily broken as taken, and become no longer any safety to the imposer."*

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* Review, vii. p. 308.

De Foe justly observes, that "If subjects will voluntarily swear to an absolute subjection, whatever right others have to resist, they have none; for they have foreclosed themselves. This, I confess," continues he, "sticks closer to some people than I wish it did; and all I can say to it, is this: that they did take such oaths is true; nay, that some of them had too much hand in making these oaths, and in wording them so as that the people must some time or other break them or be undone, is also true. Now, if these gentlemen are hampered by the oaths they took to King James, I am sorry for them. For my part, I thank God, that when he was king I never owned him, never swore to him, never prayed for him, (as king) never paid any act of homage to him, never so much as drank his health, but looked upon him as a person, who, being Popish, had no right to rule; according to that famous vote of the Convention, which with inexpressible joy, I heard delivered at the bar of the Lord's House, in a message from the Commons, by Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamshire, in 1688, viz. 'That it is inconsistent with the constitution of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a Popish prince.' Let those that lay all the weight of the revolution upon the abdication of King James, look upon this vote: it is apparent by this that though King James had not abdicated, they would have deposed and rejected him.' *

If there had been any truth in the doctrines propagated by the Tories, the shifts they resorted to in order to justify their conduct, were alike dishonourable to themselves, and to the cause they espoused. It is quite clear that the expulsion of James, whether it be termed desertion or abdication, was purely an act of force; and therefore not valid, provided he had a title superior to the party that ejected him. In a letter to the Earl of Feversham, upon his leaving

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* Review, vii. 308.

Whitehall, the unfortunate monarch says, "Things are come to that extremity, that *I have been forced* to send away the queen and my son the prince, that they might not fall into my enemies' hands, which they must have done if they had staid: *I am obliged* to do the same thing; and to endeavour to secure myself the best I can." This is a good comment upon the king's *abdication;* and was more strongly expressed in the attempt he made soon afterwards to recover those rights which he had been taught to believe were acquired by birth, and incapable of forfeiture. "Princes," observes De Foe, "never part with royal dignities: the crowns of sovereigns are too sacred to themselves, and make too deep an impression upon their affections, to suffer them to give them up to any body, till they can keep them no longer."* It is worthy of remark, that the parliament of Scotland acted in a more honest and straight-forward manner, by declaring at once, that King James had violated the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and thereby forfeited his right to the crown.

The deposed monarch being thus disposed of, the next step was to fill the vacant throne; and it was at length agreed that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be king and queen, the sole regal power residing in the prince only, but in the name of both. A debate now arose upon the nature of the oaths to be taken to the new government; and to avoid cavil, they were drawn up in the simplest form, the phrase "rightful and lawful king," being omitted. From this, however, arose the distinction of a king *de facto*, and a king *de jure:* an artifice which proceeded chiefly from the clergy, with a view to quiet their consciences in submitting to a king in possession, whilst they retained their allegiance to their former sovereign. In order to justify themselves in the eyes of the public, they issued a variety of pamphlets, in which they took every advantage of the latitude of the law; but their attempts to compound between interest and conscience exposed them equally to the severity of the Non-jurors, and the sarcasm of those who took the oaths in sincerity. (M)

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* Review, vii. 313.

De Foe, who wrote largely upon the subject in his "Reviews," says, "Of all the kinds of perjury that have appeared in the world, this is the worst, because it tends in its nature to the most mischief. Private perjury wrongs private persons, and ruins families; but this kind ruins kingdoms, overwhelms governments, and involves nations. To swear and abjure, take oaths and sign declarations, are the vile coverings of deceit, that go foremost to represent the people as loyal; the outward marks of distinction they wear publicly upon their garments. They talk up their loyalty and their zeal with a distinction to, and a contempt of all men but themselves: they rail, exclaim, and preach in a style of satire and sarcasm at the deficiency of other men: they run up principles of loyalty to excesses and extremes that no subjects practice, and no princes of common sense desire; and when the truly loyal part of mankind object against the madness of their notions, they upbraid them with want of loyalty, brand them with republican principles, disobedience and disrespect to their superiors, and even charge them with principles of rebellion. These are the outsides of their behaviour: but all this while they act the enemy, push on warmly the interests and designs of the persons they abjure, and fly in the face of that government they pretend to serve. Abhorred perjury! With the very oaths between their teeth, they counteract the thing they swear to, and horribly insult the God they swear by.

(M) No one contributed more to the support of this delusion than Dr. Sherlock, who now wrote against his former Jacobite principles, which, says an acute writer, "are forty times better than his own hypothesis of usurpation."—*Johnson's Notes,* p. 54.

These are the men that breathe fire and death where they swear loyalty and allegiance, and their actions are the counterpart of their appearance."*

"Conscience," observes De Foe, "is a sacred monitor in the breast of a Christian, which dictates to him what he ought to do, and reproaches him when he does what he ought not; and if obediently listened to, will be a faithful witness between a man and his Maker. A strict adherence to the dictates of a rightly enlightened conscience will have this effect, that it will bring a man to a rectitude of principle which he cannot forsake. To talk of conscience when men can break in upon the vilest and most scandalous crimes, such as perjury, treachery, and premeditated hypocrisy, is to talk ridiculously: and I undertake to prove, and think I have done it, that a man, who, having sworn allegiance to the present government, yet believes the doctrine of non-resistance and hereditary right, is guilty of perjury; if he preaches it he is guilty of treachery; and if he does not believe it and yet preaches it, he is guilty of hypocrisy."†

De Foe's reflections upon the character and objects of the revolution, will form a proper commentary upon the events just recorded. "The public peace of Britain," says he, "having by the wonders of Providence been preserved in the late glorious revolution, and the religious as well as civil liberties of this island rescued from the ruinous projects of popery and tyranny, it pleased God to direct the Commons of England, by their representatives assembled in convention, in conjunction with the nobility, to apply themselves to such future establishments as might effectually secure us from any subsequent relapses into the mischiefs of the former reign. To this purpose, they presented the crown, upon the abdication of the late King James, to their glorious deliverer King William, and his blessed consort Queen Mary, then the next Protestant heir in succession, and entailed it on her present majesty in default of heirs, without any regard to the other issue of King James, then alive or to be born: by which celebrated action, I humbly conceive, the convention did the several things following; whether immediately, or consequentially, or both, is not material. 1. They effectually secured the crown in the hands of Protestants, having passed that never-to-be-forgotten vote, which was sent up to the Lords, Jan. 22, 1688, 'That it is inconsistent with the constitution of this Protestant nation to be governed by a Popish prince;' upon which claim our religion is now established, and our religious rights are all founded and secured. 2. They asserted the rights of the people of England, assembled either in parliament or convention, to dispose of the crown, even in bar of hereditary right, that is, in parliament style, to limit the succession of the crown; by which last article, as I humbly suggest, all the pretence of our princes to an inherent divine right of blood, and to an absolute, unconditioned obedience in their subjects, together with that modern delusion of the unlawfulness of resistance or self-defence, in cases of tyranny and oppression, were entirely suppressed, declared against, and disowned. These things, as the Journals of the House abundantly testify, received at divers times, and in various manners, all possible sanction, both in the same assembled convention, when afterwards turned into a parliament, and in the several subsequent parliaments to this day, in the several acts passed in both kingdoms for recognition of King William and Queen Mary, for taking the association for security of the persons of the king and queen, for further limitation of the crown, for settling the succession, and at last for uniting the two kingdoms; every one of them either expressly mentioning, or necessarily implying the right of the parliament to limit the succession of their princes, and to declare and establish conditions of the people's obedience: and by all which acts, the absurd doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, are, by undeniable consequences, exploded or rejected as inconsistent with the constitution of Britain."*

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* Review, vii. 422,3.

† Ibid, vi. 494, 5.

As an ardent friend of the Revolution, and no less an admirer of the hero who achieved it, De Foe annually commemorated the 4th of November in token of our deliverance: "A day," says he, "famous on various accounts, and every one of them dear to Britons who love their country, value the Protestant interest, or have an aversion to tyranny and oppression. On this day he was born; on this day he married the daughter of England; and, on this day he rescued the nation from a bondage worse than that of Egypt, a bondage of soul, as well as bodily servitude; a slavery to the ambition and raging lust of a generation set on fire by pride, avarice, cruelty, and blood."†

When the Revolution took place, and probably for some little time before, De Foe was a resident at Tooting in Surry, where he was the first person who attempted to form the Dissenters in the neighbourhood into a regular congregation.‡ The Reverend and learned Dr. Joshua Oldfield, author of a valuable treatise on "The Improvement of Human Reason," was their first pastor. It appears from a passage in his "Tour through Great Britain," that De Foe was several years a resident in this part of Surrey. Perhaps he had a country-house there during the time that he carried on his hose-agency business in Cornhill.

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* Review, vi. 470.

† Ibid, iv. 453.

‡ Josiah Thompson's MSS. in Red Cross Street Library.

CHAPTER XI.

Accession of William and Mary.—Formation of a Ministry.—The Convention turned into a Parliament.—Bill enforcing the Oaths.—Remarks upon the Measure.—Taken by the Clergy, with mental Reservations.—Rise of the Non-jurors.—Burnet's Pastoral Letter.—Burnt by order of Parliament.—Another Pamphlet condemned at the same Time.—The King's enlightened Sentiments upon Religious Liberty.—His Designs in Favour of the Dissenters.—Defeated by the Parliament.—Act of Toleration.—Commemorated by De Foe.—Reflections upon the Act.—The high Clergy dissatisfied with it.—Bill for a Comprehension.—Defeated in the Commons.—The King's Ecclesiastical Commission.—Rendered abortive by the Convocation.—Remarks upon its Failure.—Bigotry of South.—De Foe's Remarks upon Preachers of his stamp.—Illustration of South's Politics.—Bill of Rights.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—King and Queen Dine with the Lord Mayor.—Attended by De Foe.—Oldmixon's Account of the Procession.

1689.

WILLIAM and MARY having been voted into the vacant throne, proceeded to the banqueting-house, upon the 13th of February, 1689, and received a tender of the crown from the Marquis of Halifax. At the same time, a declaration agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, containing the reasons of King James's forfeiture, and asserting the rights and liberties of the subject, was recited to the new king and queen, who accepted it as the rule of their government. They were proclaimed the same day; and upon the 11th of April, they were crowned by Compton, Bishop of London; Dr. Burnet, lately promoted to the See of Salisbury, being chosen to preach the sermon.

After the choice of ministry and a privy council, in the selection of which the king gave general satisfaction.(N) The next step was to turn the convention into a parliament, as had been done at the Restoration; and a bill was passed to legalize its proceedings.

Some of the bishops and others having absented themselves from parliament upon account of the oaths, a bill was brought in and passed, requiring all persons to take them within a limited period, under various penalties and forfeitures. The propriety of such a measure can only be argued in reference to the period when it was enacted. In all revolutions, especially when there exists a strong feeling opposed to the new order of things, it may be necessary to draw a marked line of distinction between its friends and its enemies; at the same time, every object of government may be secured by equitable laws, without compromising the consciences of the scrupulous: these it may be impolitic to trust: but so long as they give no disturbance to the state, they may be allowed the unmolested exercise of their judgment. It was urged by the non-jurors, with a greater semblance to truth than consistency, that the exaction of oaths is an illegal and tyrannical imposition upon the conscience of the subject, and in that point of view a badge of conquest and slavery. But those who had justified the slavish principles imposed in the corporation oath, had no room to open their mouths upon this occasion. Perhaps the better plan would have been to administer the oaths to those only who took office under the new government, leaving the rest of the nation to the operation of the laws, and executing

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(N) In order to reward the greatest possible number, the Treasury, the Admiralty, and the Chancery, were placed in commission; Lord Mordaunt, Admiral Herbert, and Sir John Maynard being at the head of these departments: the Privy Seal was committed to the Marquis of Halifax; the Earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham were made Secretaries of State; and the Earl of Danby, President of the Council. The Lords Godolphin and Delamere were in the Commission of the Treasury; Mr. Hampden, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir John Holt was placed at the head of the Judges.

them with strict justice upon all disturbers of the public peace.

It deserves to be noticed as illustrating the character of the times, that the king would have dispensed with the oaths in the clergy, if they had been equally well-disposed to admit other Protestants within the pale of the constitution: but notwithstanding their late lesson, they had still to learn the value of liberality, as well as the path to justice. "The clergy generally," says Burnet, "took the oaths, though with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censure, as if they had taken them against their consciences."* The different senses in which they were taken, are explained at some length in the Life of Kettlewell,† and present a juggle between interest and conscience that redounds but little to the credit of the parties. There were others who acted a more consistent part, declining them altogether. From this time may be dated the rise of the Non-jurors, who rejecting the convenient distinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*, started and acted upon by Dr. Sherlock, adhered to their former principle of the Divine right of kings and all its absurd consequences.

In order to encourage the clergy to take the oaths, Burnet published in 1689, his celebrated "Pastoral Letter." As many of the clergy were now deserting their churches, the bishop thought it a seasonable opportunity for reminding those of his diocese of the various arguments that were to be urged in their defence. Amongst others, he brought forward the title of conquest, and says, "King James having so far sunk in the war, that he both abandoned his people, and deserted the government, all his right and title did accrue to the king in the right of a conquest over him; so that if he had then assumed the crown; the opinion of all lawyers must have been on his side; but he chose rather to leave the matter to the peers and people of England, chosen and assembled together with all possible freedom, who did upon that declare him their king."

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* Burnet's Own Time iii. 38.

† Pages 217 and 337.

Burnet's pamphlet slumbered for three years without any particular notice; but the Tories getting into power, and having a violent hatred to the author, procured it to be censured in Parliament, and consigned to the flames. There can be little doubt that Burnet was himself satisfied with the king's parliamentary title, and advanced the notion of conquest merely to satisfy others who might prefer such a ground to build upon. As the affair was taken up so long after the publication, and prosecuted with more heat than it deserved, the proceedings connected with it betrayed the malignity of party, rather than any purer motive. His argument was answered with some asperity by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, who wrote with shrewdness, and boasted that a Phœnix was raised out of the ashes of the burnt book. His work was intitled "Notes upon the Phœnix edition of the Pastoral Letter. London: 1694." (o)

As soon as the oaths were disposed of, the first care of William was to enlarge the boundaries of the constitution, by procuring the extension of political rights to all his Protestant subjects. And here let it be observed, that upon questions of ecclesiastical policy, he was far more enlightened than his new subjects. "As his own sentiments in religion were abundantly liberal, so it was a maxim with him, that upon religious subjects, every man ought to be left at full liberty to think for himself; and he abhorred from the bottom of his heart, as the worst of tyranny, every prostitution of civil authority, to the base purpose of lording it over the consciences of men."* Desirous of giving full effect to these feelings, he thought the present a favourable period for enlarging the basis of the established church, and restoring to the Dissenters those civil rights which had been wrested from them by bigotry and violence. Accordingly, when the question of the coronation oath was introduced in the House of Commons, it was moved by Mr. Hampden, that the clause which obliged the king to maintain the church of England, should be so expressed and qualified, as not to prevent his consenting to any alteration in forms and ceremonies that might be approved by parliament. The wisdom of such a modification is as apparent as the bigotry that stepped in to defeat it.

(o) The Parliament that decreed Burnet's Letter to the flames, pronounced a similar fate upon a pamphlet written by Charles Blount, and intitled "King William and Queen Mary conquerors; or a discourse endeavouring to prove that their majesties have on their side, against the late king, the principal reasons that make conquest a good title. Showing also how this is consistent with that declaration of Parliament, King James abdicated the government, &c. Written with an especial regard to such as have hitherto refused the Oath, and yet incline to allow of the title of conquest, when consequent to a just war. Licensed January 11, 1693. Edmund Bohun, London. Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms, Warwick Lane, &c. 1693." This work having never been reprinted, is now very scarce. Bohun, the licencer, was deprived of his office for allowing it to be published.

The Dissenters, who had zealously promoted the Revolution, naturally looked forward to William as the restorer of their rights, and he had formed three designs in their favour. First,—By a comprehension to unite the moderate Presbyterians with the church. Secondly,—By a toleration, to give ease to scrupulous consciences. And Thirdly,—By removing the obstacles arising from non-conformity, to admit indifferently all his Protestant subjects into civil employments. An attempt was made to attain the last, by the introduction of a clause in the bill for settling the oaths; and the king enforced its policy in a speech delivered personally to both houses; but the parliament participating in all the prejudices of the high-church party, it was negatived by a large majority. Undismayed by this failure, William pursued the design in a fresh clause; to prevent the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, upon any other account than in obedience to its institution ; and to provide that the receiving of it in any Protestant congregation, with a proper certificate, shall be a sufficient qualification for office. But this clause was also rejected by a great majority. Had good sense and good feeling prevailed, the arguments of the Lords who supported the measure, would have been irresistible, and the rights of the subject would not have been sacrificed to the paltry prejudices of a party.

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* M'Cormick's Life of Carstares, p. 43.

Defeated in this part of his policy, the king's next measure was to procure a remission of the penal laws, against nonconformity. For this purpose, the Act of Toleration was brought into the Lords by the Earl of Nottingham, and finding an easy passage through both houses, received the royal assent the 24th of May. This was one of the days set apart by De Foe for annual celebration ; and he exhorts the Dissenters to follow his example. In congratulating them upon the event, he says, "I have often wondered that they should not annually commemorate by a standing law among themselves, that great day of their deliverance, when it pleased God to tread down persecution, oppression, church-tyranny, and state tyranny under the feet of the law, and to establish the liberty of their consciences, which they had so long prayed for, in a public and legal toleration. The memory of this had certainly as much reason to be preserved to them, as the deliverance of the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt, which God himself commanded should be handed down to posterity, and the day remembered to all the ages of time. And I cannot but think the preserving the memory of this deliverance, especially of what we were delivered from, to us and our posterity, would have contributed very much to the making us all, not contented only, but pleased with the present posture of our public enjoyments."(P)

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* Review, ii. 500.

(P) The suggestion thrown out by De Foe, was acted upon through a long

Although the Dissenters were thankful for the protection afforded them by the Act of Toleration, it was far from coming up to their just expectations as men, and as citizens of a state that boasted of its freedom. To tolerate a man implies a right to punish him, or to withhold a benefit which he has forfeited by misconduct. In the case of the Dissenters the state could urge no such plea; it was therefore impertinent to interfere in their quarrel with churchmen, so long as neither party committed any breach of the peace. The question of right or wrong between them could only be settled by free discussion, and was not at all advanced by proscriptive laws, which, by irritating the passions, rather widened the breach. The act was defective, not only as entailing upon men a proscription of their civil rights for maintaining certain ecclesiastical opinions, but in not providing for the future education of their children. Without this their liberty of worship was a mere nullity, as they were made to feel in the following reign. Another grievance was, that no one could avail himself even of its limited benefits, unless he subscribed his belief in the theological dogmas propounded by the church, although it was notorious that many of her own clergy, notwithstanding their subscription, had departed from those doctrines. Papists, also, were excluded entirely from its benefits, much against the wishes of the king, and continued exposed to the full weight of all the sanguinary laws that were in force against them.

Imperfect, however, as was the Act of Toleration, it was far from giving satisfaction to the episcopal clergy, who thought

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life by an eminent Dissenting minister, the Rev. Thomas Bradbury; who annually commemorated the 4th of November, by a public service suited to the occasion. Many of his sermons are published, and contain some animated passages in defence of civil and religious liberty. In the reign of Queen Anne, when the high-flyers issued their missiles, sharply pointed and in rapid succession, against the Dissenters, in their 30th of January sermons, and upon other occasions, Bradbury encountered them with invincible courage, and applied his caustic talents with admirable effect.

it prejudicial to the interests of the Protestant religion;* by which they meant no more than the secular benefits they derived from the profession of it. Forgetting their promises and repeated declarations in their distress, they were now for using the sunshine of prosperity, by the persecution of their brethren. "The clergy," says Burnet, "began now to show an implacable hatred to the Non-conformists, and seemed to wish for an occasion to renew old severities against them. But wise and good men did very much applaud the quieting the nation by the toleration. It seemed to be suitable, both to the spirit of the Christian religion, and to the interest of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable that, while we were complaining of the cruelty of the Church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves."* The plea, that it would be attended with danger to the church, has been often urged by bigots, both before and since; but it is a weapon that cuts deeper than they could wish; for many will be of opinion, that a church which cannot exist without infringing upon the rights of others, ought not to exist at all:

> "A strong dilemma in a desp'rate case,
> To act with infamy or quit the place."

The more moderate clergy, however, were far from thinking that the existence, or even the prosperity of their order depended upon the proscription of other sects, and they would gladly have wiped away the reproach which their more intolerant brethren had heaped upon it. For their Christian sentiments, they were stigmatised by the hot bigots, as enemies in disguise, or at best but luke-warm defenders of the church, which, according to their theology, must be a tyrant or nothing; nor did the king escape from the common censure. Bishop Burnet, who showed great zeal for the Act, says, that he lost much of the credit which he had lately gained from the high party for his opposition to the bill enacting the oaths.

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* Life of Dean Comber, p. 275. † Burnet's Own Time, iii. 15.

At the time that this act was under the consideration of Parliament, there was another bill brought down by the government, "For uniting their Majesties' Protestant subjects," and it passed the Lords; but the Commons, instead of debating upon it, moved an address to the king for summoning a convocation; a proceeding ominous to any abatement in the terms of conformity. The king, whose heart was set upon the union of his subjects, was far from being pleased with this address, or with the conduct of the Commons in rejecting the bill for a comprehension; he therefore caused it to be renewed in the next session, although with no better fate.

Being defeated in his liberal projects by the parliament, the king was advised by his chaplain, Dr. Tillotson, to feel the pulse of a convocation; and to pave the way, by appointing a select number of divines to prepare matters for their consideration. He accordingly issued a commission to ten bishops and twenty inferior divines, who met in the Jerusalem Chamber, October 10, 1689; and the more intolerant having withdrawn upon various pretences, the remainder proceeded in an amicable manner to discuss the points named in the commission. After reviewing the liturgy, in which they made several amendments, and conceding other points in debate with the Non-conformists, their propositions were reduced to writing, and being signed by the Bishop of London, were presented to the convocation. Here, however, they fell to the ground, as might have been expected from the inauspicious opening of that assembly; "For though the men of temper in the inferior house, laboured in conjunction with the prelates of the same candid disposition in the upper, to bring their majesties' pious and healing intentions to bear, yet, such was the spirit of a pretended zeal for the church, and the chimerical fear of dangers that would arise from this desirable union, that in spite of all the endeavours of Tennison, Fowler, Kidder, and others, to make them drop their too violent animosities to their Christian brethren, the clergy of the lower rank chose rather to present several dangerous books, and to move the censures of the church upon their authors."* Thus, the last chance of a reformation in the church was defeated by the men who owed their own preservation to a liberality which they scorned to imitate. The king was so much hurt at this stiff and unyielding conduct of the clergy, that he was averse to their meeting as a corporate body, and refrained from calling another convocation until the last year of his reign, when the measure was forced upon him by his Tory ministry. (Q)

It would be of little consequence at this time of day, to investigate the motives of men who had resolved that their own understandings should never advance beyond the measure of their forefathers. Whiston observes, that "Sir Richard Steele hit the mark when he thus distinguished the two principal churches in Christendom; the Church of Rome and the Church of England: that the former pretended to be infallible, and the latter to be always in the right."† Although there were some men of great worth and moderation in the commission, yet the majority of the clergy, who had the ulterior decision, were of a different stamp, and gave but too evident proof that the reformation of abuses is not to be sought from the men who, by education and habit, no less than by their secular interests, are taught to defend them. Dr. South, who hated the Dissenters as much as he did Dr. Sherlock, and took every occasion to denounce their toleration, is said to have exerted himself vigorously with the commissioners, to dissuade them from parting with any of the forms and ceremonies of the church; and the reason he gives for it was, lest it should endanger the loss of the whole. But, the secret of his fury is disclosed by the writer of his life, who informs us that, "He scarce ever preached, but he set before his auditors the mischiefs that would arise by admitting such vipers, as he called them, into the revenues of the church, that would eat their way through their adopted, not natural, mother's bowels."*(R) The declamation of South was not without its effect upon minds already overcharged with bigotry: but however the delusion might pass with the multitude, such men were too cunning to believe themselves, and cared but little for religion any otherwise than as it became a passport to the temporalities of the church. (S)

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* Life of Abp. Tennison, p. 18. † Whiston's Life, p. 168.

(Q) When Luther was at the Diet of Worms, his protector, the Elector of Saxony, enquired of Erasmus, who happened to be in the same room, what he thought of Luther's writings? Erasmus, in his jesting way, replied, that Luther was greatly to blame. Why so? returned the Prince. Because, said Erasmus, he has meddled with two very nice and dangerous things, viz. the Pope's mitre, and the priest's belly: If these had been let alone, a way of accommodation might have been found out.

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* Life of South, p. 115.

(R) In the following passage De Foe has aptly described such preachers as South: "Let any man read their sermons, I appeal to the style, whether it becomes the majesty of a pulpit, and the solemnity of preaching? Whether it has not more of the bully than the bishop? Whether it is not a kind of street-dialect, fitter for the kennel than the church, and better suited to Billingsgate, or the bear-garden, than to the cathedral? Let any man judge, whether the rhetoric of them suits an auditory met together to worship God? Or, whether they are not like the orations made to the Roman citizens by the tribunes, or other popular persons, when they had a mind to excite them to tumults and arms? Let any man judge of the language of these furious preachers, and tell me if it looks like preaching the gospel, the especial part of their office? Or, whether it be not more like a seditious harangue to the mob?"—*Review*, vi. 467.

(S) South was a skilful courtier, and knew how to adapt himself to the taste of the times. Preaching before King Charles II., he gave the following description of a former ruler, which may equal the above in elegance. "And, who that beheld such a bankrupt beggarly fellow as Cromwell, first entering the parliament-house, with a thread-bare torn cloak, and greasy hat, perhaps neither of them paid for, could have expected that in the space of so few years, he should, by the murder of one king, and the banishment

The parliament having disposed of the Dissenters agreeably to the wishes of the reigning church, proceeded to an act of legislation that accorded better with its character as the guardian of liberty, and entitling it to the gratitude of posterity. This was the celebrated "Bill of Rights," which set bounds to the prerogative, and asserted various claims for the people, as rehearsed in the declaration presented to the king and queen when they accepted the crown. De Foe has the following remarks upon this measure: "The Declaration of Rights of the people of England has stabbed all sorts of civil tyranny to the heart; and the English monarchy, under the present just and legal administration, is perfectly purged and abstracted from all that ever the Dissenters complained of. I know but one thing left that we have to ask of the government—the abolition of tests, sacraments, and religious obligations, at our admission to trusts in the government."* By this, and former acts, the new settlement was completed, so far as the enemies to the Revolution would permit; for, that the constitution was not brought to greater perfection, and that all grounds of political and religious animosity were not removed, was entirely owing to the prejudices and factions that prevailed in parliament. Whilst the event of things remained uncertain, men acted under the influence of their fears; but as soon as they became settled, their fears abated, and their prejudices returned with all their vigour.†

The citizens of London, inspired by gratitude to their

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of another, ascend the throne?" At which the king fell into a violent fit of laughter, and turning to Lord Rochester, said, "Odds fish, Lory, your chaplain must be a bishop, therefore put me in mind of him at the next vacancy." South, who appears to have been a complete time-server, and shifted his religion with the times, had flattery at hand upon all occasions, as may be seen by his panegyric upon the Protector. He might have changed his opinion of Cromwell; but it was scarcely decent thus publicly to abuse a man whose praises he had so lately chaunted.

* Review, ii. 147.

† Tindal, i. 56.

deliverer, resolved to take an early opportunity of testifying their respect, by inviting him to a sumptuous banquet at their Guildhall. The 29th of October being set apart for the purpose, the king and queen, attended by the Prince and Princess of Denmark, and the leading members of both houses of parliament, went to the city in public procession, and received all the honours which the joyful occasion demanded. (T) The civic chair was then filled by Sir Thomas Pilkington, who had been a sufferer in the late times, and now received the honour of knighthood. He was one of those patriots who opposed the illegal proceedings of King Charles II. in the nomination of sheriffs; and being brought to trial for his concern in that affair, was subjected to a scandalous fine of a hundred thousand pounds. Unable, or unwilling, to pay so large a sum as the price of his liberty, he surrendered to his bail; and being thrown into prison, remained there from the latter end of 1682, until he was discharged at the Revolution.

In order to do honour to the king, and add to the splendour of the procession, many of the citizens volunteered their services to attend him as a guard of honour: in this number was De Foe, who appeared properly mounted for the occasion. Oldmixon, who notices the circumstance, gives the following account of the affair.

(T) A full account of the procession, with a description of the pageants, and the songs composed for the occasion, was published by Matthew Taubman, in a pamphlet entitled "London's Great Jubilee, restored and performed on Tuesday October 29th, 1689, for the entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Pilkington, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London, containing a description of the several pageants and speeches, together with a song for the entertainment of their majesties, who, with their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the whole court, and both houses of parliament, honoured his lordship this year with their presence. All set forth at the proper cost and charge of the Right Worshipful Company of Skinners. By M. T., 1689." The poetry was probably furnished by Elkanah Settle, the city laureat; and the tract may be seen in the Somers's Collection, vol. xi. p. 584.

"Their majesties, attended by their royal highnesses, and a numerous train of nobility and gentry, went first to a balcony prepared for them at the Angel in Cheapside, to see the show; which, for the great number of liverymen, the full appearance of the militia and artillery company, the rich adornments of the pageants, and the splendour and good order of the whole proceeding, out-did all that had been seen before upon that occasion: and, what deserved to be particularly mentioned, says a reverend historian, was a royal regiment of volunteer-horse, made up of the chief citizens, who, being gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred, were led by the Earl of Monmouth, now Earl of Peterborough, and attended their majesties from Whitehall. Among these troopers, who were for the most part Dissenters, was *Daniel Foe,* at that time a hosier in Freeman's Yard, Cornhill; the same who afterwards was pilloryed for writing an ironical invective against the church, and did after that list in the service of Mr. Robert Harley, and those brethren of his who passed the Schism and Occasional bills, broke the confederacy, and made a shameful and ruinous peace with France."* Oldmixon, who always dips his pen in gall, when speaking of De Foe, might have told his readers, that, although he was the private friend of Harley, from whom he had received personal favors, yet he wrote against all the measures which he here reprehends: but so much justice was not to be expected from so consistent a party-writer.

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* Oldmixon's Hist. of Eng. iii. 36.

CHAPTER XII.

Revival of Party Animosities.—Discordant Materials of the Ministry—Imprudence of the Whigs—Dissolution of Parliament.—Change in the Ministry.—Tory Parliament.—Bribery revived.—King James invades Ireland.—Battle of the Boyne.—De Foe satirizes the Jacobites.—Treasonable Designs of the Jacobites laid open in a Pamphlet.—Bishop Turner detected in a Plot.—Non-juring Clergy deprived—Tillotson's wise conduct—Temporizing Behaviour of the Swearing Clergy.—Case of Dr. Sherlock.—Account of Bishop Overall's Convocation Book.—De Foe's Remarks upon Sherlock's Casuistry.—Principles and Character of the Non-jurors—Enumeration of their Principal Writers—Character of Sancroft.—Infatuation of Churchmen.—Venality of public Men.—Disaffection to the Government.—Character of Bishop Crewe.—Preparations for an Invasion.—Battle of La Hogue.

1690—1692.

NOTWITHSTANDING the lenity of his government, and his unwearied endeavours to compose the differences of his people, William soon discovered that the possession of a crown was far from yielding him satisfaction. Before the objects of the revolution were completed, they were sunk in the private interests of party; the charm which had united men of discordant passions was broken, and they began to assume their natural tone. Unrestrained any longer by fear, the ambitious and the venal threw aside the mask of patriotism, and raising the voice of faction, convulsed the nation in their inglorious strife. Whigs and Tories, who had made common cause in behalf of their country, now resumed their former animosity, holding out their colours to the people, who enlisted themselves upon either side, as their inclinations and prejudices, or other motives directed. From each of these parties there arose other bodies of men, who assumed new political distinctions, and combined together for the purpose of distressing the government, and accomplishing their own accession to power. Under the influence of these different factions, the nation was torn by divisions, and each party when in power, contributed its services towards the plunder of the public. This untoward character of his new subjects gave so much uneasiness to the king, as greatly to moderate his attachment to them, and to embitter the remaining years of his reign.

The first ministry of William, although composed of men of undoubted talents, was not built for durability. Some of the leading members were of high and arbitrary principles, and went into the revolution more from necessity than choice; therefore, were not likely to promote a liberal settlement. If the motive for their appointment was to conciliate persons of their own principles to the new government, it had the effect of alienating others; and they formed a rallying point for the intrigues of the Tories, which were greatly promoted by their official influence. Whilst these endeavoured to recommend themselves to the king by exalting his prerogative higher than is fitting in a free state, they acquired popularity with others by magnifying their zeal for the rites and ceremonies of the English church. The Whigs, on the other hand, lost ground by their attempts to circumscribe the royal authority, particularly in relation to the militia and the civil list; nor did they raise themselves in the estimation of churchmen, by their liberal concessions to other Protestants. Disappointed at the admission of Tories into the councils of a prince, whose favour, from their previous services, they thought themselves entitled to engross, they resorted to expedients for the confirmation of their own power, which eventually promoted that of their rivals.

In this conflict of parties, some of the leading ministers were attacked in parliament, as the instruments of obnoxious measures in the late reigns, and therefore unworthy of a place in the revolution-government. The persons pointed at were the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Marquis of Carmarthen; and addresses were moved for their dismission. In order to secure the administration in their own hands, the Whigs resorted to a measure which recoiled upon themselves. Having prepared a bill "For restoring Corporations to their ancient rights and privileges, and for excluding from places of trust in such corporations, all persons who were any way accessory to their surrender;" it passed the Commons by a great majority, and obtained the consent of the Lords. The Tories were now alarmed for their influence, and persuading the king that it was an attack upon his prerogative, they advised him to put an end to the parliament, which was prorogued the 27th of January, 1690; and a few days afterwards dissolved by proclamation.

A change in the ministry speedily followed; and the royal favour being now transferred to the Tories, they made the most of their victory, by having recourse to measures that were personally gratifying to the sovereign. But whatever disgust the king might have conceived at the Whigs, they were at the bottom the truest friends to the Revolution, and the fittest instruments to support a cause which they had the principal hand in establishing.

In the new parliament, which met the 30th of March, 1690, the Tories found themselves in a great majority. This was clearly seen in the choice of the speaker, Sir John Trevor, who had held a distinguished situation under King James, and now obtained the seals. Being a leading Tory, he undertook the management of that party in the Commons, for which purpose he procured considerable sums of money, and revived the odious practice of bribery. As the Tories professed to be a church-party, they removed all Dissenters from their commissions in the militia, and used all their influence to exclude them from corporations. In supplanting the Whigs, they flattered the king with a promise of greater pliability, which they now proceeded to make good, by voting him a revenue for life. They also procured liberal supplies for the service of the government, a considerable part of which was diverted into private channels; and to secure themselves from future attacks, they passed a bill of indemnity, which the Whigs had rejected in the former parliament.

From the commencement of James's misfortunes, the French King, Louis the 14th, had determined to espouse his quarrel, and promised to assist him with all his forces in the recovery of his dominions. Although his conduct was such as to inspire but little respect in the French court, yet, a community of interests, masked by a zeal for religion, procured for him a degree of notice that he would not have obtained by his personal character.(U) It was more, therefore, from a hatred to William, than from any regard for his rival, that the latter so soon obtained the means for the invasion of Ireland. At the head of a small army of Frenchmen, James landed at Kinsale, in March, 1689, less than three months after he had quitted England.

As the population of Ireland was composed chiefly of Catholics, he found a number of partizans in that kingdom; and collecting together a considerable force, he soon marched to Dublin. It was some months before an English army could be transported to that kingdom, so that James traversed the country with feeble resistance; but to support his former character for cruelty, his troops committed many excesses, butchering the Protestants without mercy. Upon the arrival of the Duke of Schomberg, the war soon took a

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(U) The Archbishop of Rheims, seeing him come one day from mass, said in an ironical tone, "Here comes a very honest gentleman, who has abandoned three kingdoms for a mass." *Tindal*, i. 78.

different turn; but King William, desirous of bringing it to a conclusion, determined to take the command himself, and decided the contest, by the celebrated battle of the Boyne, which was fought upon the first of July, 1690, and confirmed the conqueror in his title to the British throne.

The little effective assistance which the English Jacobites afforded to James, even when they had an opportunity of serving him, is finely satirized by De Foe. "When King James was in Ireland, before the Boyne," says he, "and a flourishing army with him, where were his swaggering friends? The French, indeed, sent him help, eight thousand foot, and some good officers; but among all the party, he could never form one troop of volunteer gentlemen from England, to make any appearance. Not a man, comparatively speaking, took arms for the Lord's anointed. All they did then, and all they have done ever since, is to stay at home, and drink for him, swear for him, and rail and snarl at those they dare not oppose. Noise and clamour we have from them in great plenty; and where they can instil corrupt principles into the heads of the people, to divide and disturb them, this they do with extraordinary diligence; but, for their hands, they are a most despicable party."*

A naval victory gained by the French at this time, and supposed to be facilitated by treachery, gave rise to an able pamphlet, which laid open the treasonable designs of the Jacobites. It is intitled, "A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the Present Disasters in England; and who they are that brought the French fleet into the English Channel, described. Lond. 1690." 4to. This work has been ascribed to De Foe, although probably without any just reason. It is, however, well written, and an useful document of the times. The design of the author is to identify the disaffected clergy with the plot that was in activity against the government; in order to which, he gives a curious detail of their proceedings, and adduces a memorial which they presented to the French King, inviting him to the invasion of England. Amongst other things related by the author, he mentions a new Liturgy, composed in a general council of the party, and designed as a substitute for the one in use. He tells us, that above ten thousand of them were printed and dispersed in the country; and, as a sample of the prayers, cites the following curious passage: "Restore us again the public worship of thy name, the reverend administration of thy sacraments; raise up the former government both in church and state, that we may be no longer without king, without priest, and without God in the world!" This attack upon the plotters, was followed by "A Second Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the Present Disasters in England, &c., being a farther discovery of the Jacobite Plot. Together with a list of those noblemen, gentlemen, and others now in custody. Lond. 1690." The last tract was probably the production of Dunton.

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* Review, vi. 487.

The charges brought against the non-juring clergy in the first of these pamphlets being of a serious nature, their bishops thought fit to publish a solemn protest against them; but the discovery of the Lancashire plot a few months afterwards, and the apprehension of Lord Preston, and other conspirators, fully justified all that the author had written. Amongst the persons deeply engaged, was Turner, bishop of Ely, who was the penman of the expurgation just mentioned; but the unlucky interception of two letters which he addressed to King James and his Queen, fully disclosed his duplicity. He there refers to a former correspondence with the courts of Versailles and St. Germains, which had the concurrence of his brethren; and he says, that he is no more capable of swerving from his allegiance to the exiled family, than he is of renouncing his hopes of heaven.* In consequence of this discovery a proclamation was issued for his apprehension; but the bishop absconded from justice, and made his escape to France.

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* Secret Hist. of Europe, ii. 283.

The government now thought it high time to draw a stronger line between its friends and its enemies, by depriving such of the clergy as refused the oaths. The time limited by the act for taking them had expired several months, and every attempt to produce a reconciliation having failed, a sentence of deprivation was pronounced upon the first of February, 1691. The number that incurred the penalty was upwards of four hundred, including six bishops, whose places were immediately filled by able successors. Dr. Tillotson, a man of piety and various learning, distinguished also by his politeness both in conversation and writing, succeeded Sancroft in the see of Canterbury, and was become a great favourite both with the king and queen. "He now also restrained the power of the church within bounds, lest it should break out into tyranny, as it did in the reign of King Charles I., and render its jurisdiction obnoxious to the parliament. Those alone he could never receive into his favour, who, by cavilling about words, would have put a false construction upon laws and oaths; for he abhorred all double-dealing, and despised flattery."* The other sees were also filled by able successors.

If we look back upon the preceding times, and refer to the known principles as well as the public conduct of the clergy, it will be matter of surprise to many persons, that so few of them refused the oaths. As the authorized teachers of a religion which requires "truth in the inward parts," it might be supposed that they would be the last to trifle with conscience, especially upon a point that held them up to so much notoriety. Had they been sincere converts from their former principles, no one could justly blame them; but the course they pursued both in this and the following reign, affords decisive evidence to the contrary.

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* Cunningham's Great Britain, i. 118.

The case of Dr. Sherlock, which attracted considerable attention at this time, is very remarkable. He was Master of the Temple, and being very strenuous for the monarchical principle, which he asserted in the most unqualified terms both by preaching and writing, he at first refused the oaths. This brought upon him a suspension from his preferments; but the arguments of his wife, in conjunction with King William's sword, proving heavier than his scruples, they at length gave way, and he not only took them, but defended his conduct in a pamphlet, intitled, "The Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, stated and resolved according to Scripture and Reason, and the Principles of the Church of England; with a more particular respect to the oath lately enjoined, of allegiance to their present Majesties, King William and Queen Mary. 1691." As the Doctor had stated the principles of the church, in a manner somewhat different in his "Case of Resistance to the Supreme Powers, stated and resolved according to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures," a work published by him a few years before, his inconsistency brought upon him the censure and ridicule of those who had no occasion to accommodate their doctrine to their circumstances. Mr. Molyneux, alluding to his case in one of his letters to Mr. Locke, says, "You rightly observe, the Doctor is no obstinate heretic, but may veer about when another opinion comes in fashion; for some men alter their notions as they do their clothes, in compliance to the mode. I have heard of a Master of the Temple, who, during the siege of Limerick, writ over hither to be sure to let him know by the first opportunity, whenever it came to be surrendered, which was done accordingly; and immediately the good Doctor's eyes were opened, and he plainly saw the oaths to King William and Queen Mary were not only expedient but lawful, and our duty. A good roaring train of artillery is not only the *ratio ultima regum,* but of other men besides."* To console him for the loss of reputation, Sherlock's conversion brought back his preferments, with the addition of the rich deanery of St. Paul's, vacated by the promotion of Tillotson.

The revolution that took place in Sherlock's politics, and led to his apostacy, is ascribed by himself to a passage he had lately met with in Bishop Overall's "Convocation Book." This work had been drawn up in the reign of King James I. in reply to a treatise published in 1594, under the assumed name of Doleman, but written by Robert Parsons, the English jesuit. It is entitled "A Conference about the next succession to the Crown of England." The object of it was to invalidate the title of James, and to prevent his succession, by shewing, that kings may be deposed or set aside, upon account of religion. Overall submitted his book to the approval of the convocation, who recommended its publication; but King James I. being averse to the agitation of political questions by any person but himself, signified his wish to have the matter dropped. The work, therefore, slumbered in manuscript until after the Revolution, when it was published by Archbishop Sancroft, in October, 1689, a few days before his suspension for refusing the oaths. It was intended as an authentic declaration of the doctrine of the Church of England upon the points in discussion, and justified the slavish notions taught by the clergy in the days of the Stuarts. There was one remarkable passage in it, however, that was at variance with the rest of the book, and evidently written in accommodation to the feeling that prevailed in England with respect to those provinces of the Netherlands which had thrown off the Spanish yoke. It was there laid down, that when a change of government was brought to a thorough settlement, it was then to be owned and submitted to as a work of the providence of God. This passage, Sherlock informs us, opened his eyes in favor of the revolution settlement, and induced him to take the oaths. Whatever may be thought of his notions of Providence, which he accommodated to his own interest, in the account he gives of his conversion, he shews a prostration of the mind, as amusing for its adroitness as it is contemptible for the purpose of argument. But, whether Sherlock was convinced by the arguments of logicians, as he would have us believe, or by the loquacity of his wife and the sword of William, as his adversaries insinuated, his political obliquity occasioned a very curious controversy; justifying a remark of Lord Clarendon, who says, "He had observed in his progress through life, that of all classes of men, the clergy took the worst measure of human affairs."

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* Locke's Works, ix. 401.

De Foe, writing upon the subject some years afterwards, speaks thus: "Where is the famous Dr. Sherlock? who, having stood out long in his old antiquated doctrines of passive obedience, and confirmed the faith of his suffering brethren by strong and wonderful arguments, at last, at the powerful instigation of a wife and a good salary, has sold all his loyalty for a mess of pottage, solving his honesty with the wretched distinction of a power *de facto* and a power *de jure;* as if the Church of England's credit could be saved by such an impotent shift, or as if he could make amends to the prebendary for his helping him to sacrifice his brethren, by fathering his conversion upon reading honest Dr. Overall, whose doctrine, it is well known, the Doctor knew before; but that he was loth Dr. South should have the honour of bringing him over to such old fanatic principles."*

The sophism resorted to by Sherlock and his brethren, for the purpose of cheating the world, paid but an ill compliment to the new government, which it made out to be no better than an usurpation ; so that their own allegiance, notwithstanding their oaths, was very precarious, and might be again transferred by the fate of a battle. "This English priestcraft," observes a writer before quoted, "is the coarsest that I ever saw ; the Romish is fine, and has made a delicate book of Father Paul's Trent History, but ours will never make a book worth reading: theirs is the depths of Satan; ours is his shallows."*

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* New Test. of Ch. of Engl. Loyalty, p. 17.

The Non-jurors, who refrained from the oaths altogether, whatever we may think of their politics, certainly acted a more consistent part. That many of them were men of the first rank for learning and talent, and well skilled in ecclesiastical antiquity, cannot be disputed. Their religion was of a more suspicious character, assimilating much nearer to the superstition of the Romish church, than to a rational devotion. It was this that caused them to lay so much stress upon external rites and ceremonies, and to demand greater deference to the priesthood than was consistent with the spirit of the times, or the requirements of Christianity. That they fell into this error is not surprising, as they seem to have drawn their notions rather from the practice of the Roman emperors and of the middle ages, than from any purer source. Their politics were of the most slavish description, being cast in the Justinian mould, and better suited to African slaves, than to a people enlightened by education, and inured to commercial enterprize. With the most extravagant notions upon the nature and origin of the kingly office, they were for sacrificing the rights and liberties of whole nations to the interests of a few families; absurdly supposing, that their title to govern is derived immediately from heaven, and therefore, cannot be resumed by any earthly power. Exempted by this formidable charter from all responsibility to human tribunals, they deduced from it the criminality of resistance; so that kings might tyrannize at their pleasure, and their submissive subjects pocket the affront without any means of redress. But, so absurd a system, however flattering to human ambition, and to the arrogant claims of ecclesiastics, is too degrading to man, and too revolting to common sense, to be endured beyond the limits of necessity. Nothing could have given it currency so long in this country but the most profound ignorance upon the subject of government, and the sanction afforded to it by the teachers of religion; when it came to their turn, however, to reap its consequences, they acted like other men, refuting by their own practice a foolish theory, which they had neither the wisdom nor the courage to disavow.

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* Johnson's Notes, &c. p. 55.

But the most obnoxious trait in the character of the Non-jurors is, their intolerance. Taking it for granted that their own religion was right, and that all other sects were in the wrong, they thought it was the duty of the magistrate to conduct the affairs of state solely with a view to their benefit, and to the exclusion of persons of every other faith. Not contented with this monopoly, they farther thought that it was the duty of all persons to believe exactly as they did, and to conform in every point to the requisitions of the persons whom they dignified with the imposing name of the church. But, as men cannot always believe as they wish, or as others require them, and there being something in human nature that rebels at the imposition of whatever is opposed to the judgment, these zealous ecclesiastics made no scruple to call in the aid of the civil magistrate to force the erroneous within the bosom of the church; and they were for punishing the refractory by civil pains and penalties. As the forms of their religion had been borrowed from the church of Rome, so also were their ecclesiastical politics, which led them to indulge in persecution, and to compel those whom they could not convince, by displaying before them all the terrors of a church militant. If the fruits of faith, as exhibited in the temper and conduct of these men, were somewhat different from those enumerated by the Apostle Paul, it may be resolved into their greater zeal for ecclesiastical uniformity, and the difference of their circumstances; they being of the established religion, whilst the Apostle was exposed to all the inconveniences of one who had departed from it. If religion were to be divested of political patronage, its practical effects would be nearly the same in all sects; although a difference in education, and other circumstances, would still produce a contrariety of opinions.

Of those who took their lot with the Non-jurors at this time, the most eminent was Archbishop Sancroft, who had been at one time an intolerant churchman, but was softened down by adversity, and died soon after his deprivation, exhibiting a pattern of piety and Christian simplicity ;(x) Bishop Kenn, celebrated for his devotional performances; Dr.

(x) A life of this prelate, in two volumes, octavo, was published in 1821, by Dr. D'Oyly, whose official situation gave him easy access to original documents. It is a well written work, but exhibits only the bright side of the prelate's character. Sancroft was, in many respects, a valuable man, and exercised his difficult office with more temper and integrity than some of his brethren. At the same time he partook too largely of the notions then current with ecclesiastics, to be considered as friendly either to civil or religious liberty. He was of a timorous disposition, which made him weak and vaccillating in his policy, and prevented him from interposing his influence where it might have been useful. In declining to act in the ecclesiastical commission, he was influenced by correct motives; but not having the courage to avow them, he resorted to unworthy excuses, which were easily penetrated by James, and lost him the credit he might have obtained by a more straight-forward line of conduct. The letters he wrote at various times to the king, are humiliating to his character, and discover the abject subserviency of a slave or a criminal, rather than the unfettered sentiments of an independent and dignified mind; he approaches majesty with the feelings we should look for in a subject of Ali Pacha, whose frowns were more terrible than death. Sancroft had no pretensions to the character of a great man; he is rather to be respected for his virtues, which shone most in adversity, and furnish a mantle to cover his political failings.

Hickes, Dean of Worcester, a man well skilled in Saxon literature, and in ecclesiastical learning, but an inhuman bigot, and in this particular a perfect contrast to Kenn; (Y) Henry Dodwell, famous for his learning and for his paradoxes; Jeremy Collier, a voluminous historical, and controversial writer, and well known for his attack upon the playhouses; Thomas Wagstaffe, a political and controversial writer; John Kettlewell, a pious and conscientious parish priest, and devotional writer, whose life, published by Dr. Francis Lee, contains many curious particulars relating to the Non-jurors; Dr. Thomas Smith, a writer of biography, and author of an account of the Greek church; Nathaniel Spinkes, a devotional writer; Laurence Howell, author of a well known history of the Bible; Samuel Grascome, a zealous controversialist; Ambrose Bonwicke, master of Merchant Tailor's school; Charles Leslie, a violent political and controversial writer, whose name will often occur in this work; Robert Jenkin, who complied with the oaths about twenty years afterwards, and published an excellent work, on "The reasonableness and certainty of the Christian Religion;" Thomas Baker, a celebrated antiquarian; Hilkiah Bedford, who published "The History of Hereditary Right," an absurd defence of the divine right of kings; and Robert Nelson, a pious layman, who wrote, "A Companion for the Feasts and Fasts of the Church of England;" a work often printed, and still in great request amongst churchmen.

The line of demarcation between the revolutionists and their opponents being now more distinctly marked, the passions of the more violent vented themselves in the most acrimonious language. Stimulated by the loss of their preferments to an increased hatred of the Revolution, the Non-jurors

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(Y) His brother, John Hickes, a non-conforming minister, being condemned to death for his concern in Monmouth's rebellion, the Dean was entreated to apply for mercy in his behalf, when he answered coldly, "I cannot speak for a fanatic!"—*Dalrymple's Memoirs*, i. 140.

laboured to excite the people in their favour, endeavouring to impress them with a belief, that religion had received a greater wound in their sufferings, than it had from all the attacks of King James. They therefore promoted his return to power with their utmost energies, and received too much encouragement from many of the high-churchmen who had taken the oaths. The infatuation of these men is the more remarkable, as James's prejudices strengthened with his years, notwithstanding the efforts of Leslie and others, who laboured hard to convert him. These, indeed, were unfit men for such a work. In the little court at St. Germains, the late king was surrounded by Papists, from whom, the few Protestants who were there, met with continual affronts; and even their chapel was deserted and shut up. Yet, with their eyes open to these things, there were many Protestants in England, who eagerly desired to have back their king.

Perhaps the affairs of William were never in a more critical state than in the early part of 1692. That ardent zeal for liberty, which united all parties in accomplishing the Revolution, had given way to feelings of selfishness. The officers of government, making a trade of corruption, and guided by avarice, sought only to enrich themselves at the public expense. Intrigues and dissensions strongly characterized the conduct of public men, and disaffection pervaded all parties in the state. The pressure of taxes, rendered necessary by the war, raised loud complaints in the people; whilst the successes of the enemy, who had possession of the seas, tended to increase the commercial embarrassments. Nor, were the arms of William much more successful upon the continent, owing, in a great measure, to the treachery of the persons he had trusted.*

Prosperity could not be looked for in a government that nourished treason, and protected the traitors. Dr. Comber, describing the state of things in the north, says, "The enemies of the government in these parts were become strangely audacious, and the friends thereof scarcely lukewarm; of which the late assizes held there had given strong proof." It seems that even the bench of justice was tainted with treason, and acted in concert with the counsel to protect the enemies of William. The same writer adds, "That King James's health had been openly drunk about the streets with a reflecting tune several nights in that week, and the bishop had encouraged, or at least connived at these proceedings, insomuch that he thought all things threatened a general defection."* The prelate here alluded to, was Crewe, bishop of Durham, a man wholly devoid of honour or principle; who changed with all times, and lent himself to the most obnoxious measures of the late reigns. He entered upon his episcopate by a large bribe to one of King Charles's mistresses, (Nell Gwyn) and supported it with a pomp and parade that ill accorded with the genius of religion, but gratified the lovers of splendour in God's worship. Being excepted out of the act of indemnity, the bench would probably have been spared the disgrace of retaining him, had it not been for the injudicious interference of Tillotson. This ill-placed lenity he repaid by continuing ever afterwards the friend and secret supporter of James. The prospects of the nation at this time, are thus described by Dr. Dennis Greenville, who had attached himself to the fortunes of that prince. Writing to Dr. Comber, who succeeded him in the deanery of Durham, he says, that "James II. is at the head of a considerable army, with a noble fleet, proportionable ammunition, &c., with a design of restoring himself to the crown, the church to her privileges, and the subjects to their liberties and properties! And that he is now in circumstances, if resisted, of hewing out his way to the throne with his sword."† Had he succeeded, it is easy to guess in what manner he would have used his sword, and how liberty and property would have fared in his hands.

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* Cunningham's Great Britain, i. 132—141.

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* Comber's Life, p. 308, 309. † Ibid, 309.

A nation thus miserably torn by faction, and debased in character, presented advantages to its enemies, of which they were not backward to avail themselves. From the information communicated by the malcontents in England, the French monarch considered it a favourable opportunity for attempting an invasion. To this end, an army, to be commanded by James, was collected upon the coast of Normandy; and instructions were given to fit out a fleet with the utmost expedition. Having put to sea in the middle of May, the English fleet, under the command of Admiral Russel, made for the French coast, and bearing down upon the enemy, gained one of the most decided victories recorded in our naval annals. De Foe describes it as equal in glory to that which was afterwards obtained at Blenheim, and infinitely more important in its consequences; for it not only gave a death blow to the fortune of James, but disabled the French from meeting the English again at sea during the whole of this reign.*

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* De Foe's Tour through Great Brit. i. 113.

CHAPTER XIII.

De Foe's Mercantile Engagements.—Concerned in the Spanish and Portuguese Trade.—Makes a Voyage to Spain.—Loses a Vessel upon the Spanish Coast.—His Remarks upon the Inhospitality of his Countrymen.—He trades to Holland.—Visits France.—And Germany.—Continues his Hose-agency.—Unsuited for Trade.—His Failure.—Severity of the Bankrupt Laws.—De Foe's Remarks upon the Subject.—Causes of his Misfortunes.—His Remarks upon Over-trading.—Duped by the Fraudulent.—Privileged Places for Debtors.—Suppressed at his Suggestion.—He exposes the Artifices of Projectors.—Suffers from one of them.—His Remarks upon Commissions of Bankrupts.—Shifts to retrieve himself.—His fortitude in Suffering.—Honesty of Character.—Rewarded by the Confidence of his Creditors.—Anecdote of General Wood.—Testimony to De Foe's Integrity.—Account of his Residence in Bristol.

1692.

Leaving for a time the contention of parties, it will be proper now to look back into the occupations of De Foe. That he was no idle spectator of the events we have been recording, may be collected both from his previous conduct, and from the extracts already adduced from his writings. These clearly indicate that he entered heartily into the measure of the Revolution, and participated in some of the events with which it was connected. The bloodless nature of the conflict afforded him no opportunity for distinction in the field; but he who had drawn his sword for Monmouth, was not backward in the cause of William, whom he joined at Henley, and probably accompanied in his march to

London. Of the subsequent proceedings, both in and out of parliament, he was a watchful observer; and, having the honour of an introduction to William, he formed a strong attachment to him, upon the ground of his personal merits, which continued unabated to the close of his life.

If De Foe now drew his pen in the war of politics, the circumstance is not known. It seems probable that he published but little at this period, his attention being chiefly engrossed with the affairs of trade.

De Foe's commercial speculations were of a multifarious nature. Some years had now elapsed since he embarked, with other partners, in the Spanish and Portuguese trade, from whence he must have derived considerable profit; but much of it was dissipated in subsequent losses. Oldmixon, who delights to undervalue him, says, "he had never been a merchant, otherwise than peddling a little to Portugal;"* but, as Mr. Chalmers justly remarks, "peddling to Portugal makes a trader."† His concerns, however, were more considerable than Oldmixon would wish us to believe. From a passage in one of his works, it is very clear that he had been a merchant-adventurer; for, speaking of the high rate of insurance, and its excess over the profits of the merchant, he says, he had paid a hundred pounds in that way upon a voyage that had afforded him a profit of only fifty pounds.‡ Whether it was before or after the Revolution that he went to Spain is uncertain; but his connexions with the trade of that country rendered it expedient for him to undertake a voyage thither; and it appears from his own account that he took up his residence there, and became familiar with the language.(z)

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* Hist. of England, iii. 519. † Life of De Foe, p. 9. *n.*

‡ Essay on Projects, p. 115.

(z) In his Review for January 27, 1711, he alludes to an old Spanish proverb, which, says he, "I learnt when I lived in that country." The proverb is, "Let the cure be wrought, though the devil be the doctor."

In one of his *Reviews* De Foe gives an account of the loss of a vessel in which he was a share-holder, upon the Spanish coast, and records the inhospitable treatment which the crew received from the natives; but this he charges to the account of the English themselves, who had treated them with the like, or rather worse usage.

"A ship I had some concern in myself," says he, "in a violent storm came ashore on the coast of Biscay, and, stranding, the men made signals of distress to a Spanish vessel that lay at anchor under the shore, the captain of which would not take the least notice of them, though, had he manned out his boat, he might have saved the whole crew. At last, upon repeated signals, two boats from the shore went off and saved the master and five men, the rest perishing before they came. The master afterwards meeting the captain of the Spanish ship, asked him why he would not afford his succour as he might have done? The Spaniard answered with an oath, that if he and all his men had swam to the ship's side, he would not have taken one of them up, though they had been to be drowned in his sight; and he gave this reason for it: that having been shipwrecked somewhere on the coast of England, the people, instead of saving him and his ship, came off and robbed him, tore the ship almost to pieces, and left him and his men to swim ashore for their lives, while they plundered the cargo; upon which, he and his whole crew had sworn never to help an Englishman in whatever distress he should find them, whether at sea or on shore."[*] De Foe observes, that many an Englishman has been sacrificed abroad, in resentment of the barbarities committed by their countrymen in cases of shipwreck, and other distresses upon our coast; and he relates the above as a warning to them for the future. The case was suggested by the unwillingness which many had shown to shelter the poor Palatines, who had taken refuge in England from the persecution in their own country.(A)

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[*] Review, vi. 223.

It must have been about this time that De Foe had some concern in the trade with Holland. Perhaps he might have been drawn to that country in the late reign after Monmouth's rebellion, when many flocked thither to avoid the persecution of the English court. The more patriotic of his countrymen, at that time, had a strong partiality for the Dutch, who afforded a sanctuary for the persecuted of other nations, and were looked up to as the future deliverers of England. A writer in the reign of Queen Anne, who styles himself, "A well-wisher to trade and credit," and wrote in an opprobrious manner against De Foe, in commenting upon his career in trade, speaks of him as having been formerly "a Civet-cat merchant;" although it was probably the drug rather than the animal in which he traded.(B) The Dutch were at that time the most considerable of the European traders in that article, which they brought from the East.

De Foe, who seems to have been a citizen of the world, made an excursion to France some time in the early part of his life. He went there in the company of some merchants, in a large yacht, and landed at Caen, in Normandy; but

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(A) One of the vessels employed by De Foe in the Spanish trade was commanded by Bernard Darby, who was afterwards promoted to the king's service, and became first lieutenant in the Sandwich, a second-rate man-of-war, in the engagement off La Hogue. Colonel Hastings, her commander, being mortally wounded in the action, resigned the command to Darby, who, instead of emulating the bravery of his predecessor, threw himself upon the quarter-deck, and was near being thrown over-board by his comrades. Although his ship was the most shattered of any in the fleet, she reached Portsmouth harbour, but in so disabled a condition, as to be unfit for service. Darby was tried for cowardice, and dismissed with ignominy.—*Oldmixon*, iii. 73.

(B) "He has run through the three degrees of comparison: *Pos.*, as a hosier; *Compar.*, as a Civet-cat merchant; and *Super.*, as a Pantile merchant."—*Observations on the Bankrupt's Bill.* 1706. 4to. p. 35.

whether he was drawn thither by business or pleasure, is not mentioned.* Either at this or some other time, he visited Paris, and other parts of that country, and was much struck both with the magnificence of the scenery, and the grandeur of the private as well as of the public buildings: but in some of these respects, he seems to have given the preference to his own country. Alluding to the Ranger's lodge in Ham Park, he says, "I have seen many of the seats of the nobility in France, and some larger, but none finer than this, except such as had been laid out at the royal expence." Of the scenery by the river side, from Richmond, he says "that nothing in the world can imitate it; no, not the country for twenty miles round Paris, though that, indeed, is a kind of prodigy."† De Foe also visited other parts of the continent, particularly Germany, and staid some time at Aix-la-Chapelle, perhaps for the benefit of the waters, which he considered much superior to those at Buxton.‡ He also mentions his having drank the Bath waters in the early part of his life, and notices their value in colicks and scorbutic complaints.§ It is probable, from some circumstances in his life, that De Foe visited Germany in the next reign.

In the midst of his foreign speculations, De Foe still continued his hose-agency business in Freeman's-court, Cornhill. But the occupations of trade do not assort well with literary genius, and De Foe was of too mercurial a nature to follow it with success. "Wit, like mercury and quicksilver," says he, "is of use to make the silver ore run, and separate the sterling from the dross; but bring it to the crucible by itself, it flies up in the air like a true spirit, and is lost at once."‖ In advanced life, De Foe had but an indifferent opinion of the assortment of genius with trade. "A wit turned tradesman!" says he, "no apron-strings will hold him, 'tis in vain to lock him in behind the compter, he's gone in a moment. Instead of journal and ledger, he runs away to his Virgil and Horace; his journal entries are all Pindaricks, and his ledger is all Heroicks. He is truly dramatic from one end to the other, through the whole scene of his trade: and as the first part is all comedy, so the two last acts are always made up with tragedy; a statute of bankrupt is his *exeunt omnes,* and he generally speaks the epilogue in the Fleet prison, or the Mint."* Something like this may be supposed to be descriptive of the real state of things with De Foe.

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* Tour through Gt. Brit. v. i. Let. ii. p.16. † Ib. p. 121. ‡ Ib. vol. iii. p. 54.

§ Ib. vol. ii. Let. iii. p. 53. ‖ Complete Tradesman, ii. 57.

In allusion to his misfortunes, Mr. Chalmers observes, "With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours with a small society for the cultivation of polite learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house; and being obliged to abscond from his creditors in 1692, he naturally attributed those misfortunes to the war which were probably owing to his own misconduct. An angry creditor took out a commission of bankruptcy, which was soon superseded on the petition of those to whom he was most indebted, who accepted a composition on his single bond. This he punctually paid by the efforts of unwearied diligence. But some of these creditors who had been thus satisfied, falling afterwards into distress themselves, De Foe voluntarily paid them their whole claim, being then in rising circumstances from King William's favour. "This is such an example of honesty," adds Mr. Chalmers, "as it would be unjust to De Foe and to the world to conceal."† The amount for which he failed cannot now be ascertained; but it must have been considerable, and shews that he was no petty-trader. Being reproached by Lord Haversham for mercenariness, he tells him in 1705, that "With a numerous family, and no help but his own industry, he had forced his way with undiscouraged diligence through a sea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, exclusive of composition, from seventeen thousand to less than five thousand pounds."*

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* Complete Tradesman, ii. p. 58.

† Life of De Foe, p. 9.

It deserves to be remembered, that at the time when our author fell into misfortune, the laws against bankrupts were much more severe than they are at present; insomuch that it was a matter of some hazard for a man to surrender to his creditors, unless there had been some previous understanding for a composition. "The cruelty of our laws against debtors," says De Foe, "without distinction of honest or dishonest, is the shame of our nation. I am persuaded, the honestest man in England, when by necessity he is compelled to break, will early fly out of the kingdom rather than submit. To stay here—this is the consequence: as soon as he breaks, he is proscribed as a criminal, and has thirty to sixty days to surrender both himself and all that he has to his creditors. If he fails to do it, he has nothing before him but the gallows, without benefit of clergy; if he surrenders he is not sure but he shall be thrown into gaol for life by the commissioners, only on pretence that they doubt his oath. What must the man do? If he carries away his effects he is a knave, and cheats his creditors; if he stays here he is starved in a gaol, and must end his days by a lingering death. It is certainly the interest of the creditor, that when a debtor has failed, he should come and throw himself into the creditors' hands, and there be safe." In arguing the subject some years afterwards, De Foe observes with equal judgment and shrewdness, "Sometimes I was apt to suggest the following important trifles, viz. That a prison paid no debts; that the more a bankrupt spent, the less he had left; and that the less he had, the less the creditors would have at last; that he who had nothing to pay, could pay nothing; and that to keep a man in perpetual prison for debt, was murthering men by law."*

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* Reply to Lord Haversham's Vindication.

The foregoing extracts will serve to shelter the character of De Foe from any dishonourable imputation in absconding from his creditors; a step which he thought himself justified in taking during the negotiation for an amicable settlement, in order that he might escape the horrors of a dungeon.

Although the habits of De Foe were but little suited to those of trade, it is probable that other circumstances contributed to his insolvency. He seems to have fallen into an error by no means uncommon to persons in business; that of extending their trade beyond their capital. "I think I may safely advance, without danger of reprehension," says he, "there are more people ruined in England by over-trading, than for want of trade; and I would, from my own unhappy experience, advise all men in trade to set a due compass to their ambition. Credit is a gulph which is easy to fall into, hard to get out of. Caution, therefore, is the best advice that can be given to a young tradesman; and moderation is a useful virtue in trade as well as in politics."† In another place he observes, "The richer the tradesman is, the bolder he is apt to be in his adventures, not being to be so easily wounded by a loss. But, as the gamester is tempted to throw again to retrieve the past loss, so one adventure in trade draws in another, till at last comes a capital loss, which weakens the stock and wounds the reputation: and thus by one loss coming in the neck of another, the tradesman is first made desperate, in his desperation ventures his all, and so is at once undone. If any man should be so ill-natured as to tell me I speak too feelingly upon this part of the subject, though it may not be the kindest thing he could have said to a poor author, yet it may not be the worse for the argument. An old sailor that has split upon a sunk rock, and has lost his ship, is not the worst man to make a pilot of for that coast: on the contrary, he is in particular able to guide those that come after him to shun the dangers of that unhappy place."*

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* Review, iii. 117, 131, 138.

† Ibid, 25.

But if De Foe fell a victim in part to his own imprudence, it was not the sole cause of his ruin. "If I am asked," says he, "why honest tradesmen are ruined, and undesigning men come to destruction, the answer is short: knaves run away with their money; knaves break first, and pull honest men down with them."† That his misfortunes were partly owing to some such cause, may be inferred from various passages in his writings. In one of his Reviews, speaking of the frauds committed by bankrupts, he says, "The evil was indeed grown up to a monstrous height in those days. Nothing was more frequent than for a man in full credit to buy all the goods he could lay his hands on, and carry them directly from the house he bought them at into the Fryars, and then send for his creditors and laugh at them, insult them, shewing them their own goods untouched, offer them a trifle in satisfaction, and if they refuse it, bid them defiance: I cannot refrain vouching this of my own knowledge, since I have more than many times been served so myself."‡ Writing upon the same subject in another work, he says, "I may be a little warmer on this head, on account that I have been a larger sufferer by such means than ordinary. But I appeal to all the world as to the equity of the case, what the difference is, between my having my house broken up in the night to be robbed, and a man coming in good credit, and with the proffer of ready-money in the middle of the day, and buying five hundred pounds' worth of goods, and carrying them directly from my warehouse to the Mint, and the next day laughing at me, and bidding me defiance; yet this I have seen done."*

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* Complete Tradesman, ii. 105.

† Review, iii. 70.

‡ Review, iii. 75.

Singular as it may appear in modern times, it is a well known fact, that during the reign of Romish superstition, there were several places in and about the City of London, which were allowed as sanctuaries to criminals and debtors; and that ever since the Reformation, the latter had claimed the privilege of resorting to them for protection. One of these places, called the White-Fryars, was become a notorious receptable for broken and desperate men, in the very heart of the metropolis. There they resorted in great numbers, to the dishonour of the government, and the great prejudice of the people, defending themselves with force and violence against the law and the public authorities. This intolerable grievance the parliament redressed by "An Act for the more effectual Relief of Creditors in Cases of Excesses, and for preventing Abuses in Prisons, and pretended Privileged Places;" in which such effectual provision was made to reduce these out-laws, that immediately after the act was published, they abandoned their posts to better inhabitants.† The Mint in Southwark, another of these sanctuaries, and the pest of the neighbourhood, was also suppressed by the same act of parliament, 8th and 9th of William III., c. 27.

It deserves to be recorded to the honour of De Foe, that he was the first to awaken the attention of the legislature to this subject, and that to him the nation was indebted for the abatement of the nuisance. "I had the good fortune," says he, "to be the first that complained of this encroaching evil in former days, and think myself not too vain in saying, my humble representations *in a day when I could be heard*, of the abominable insolence of bankrupts, practised in the

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* Essay on Projects, p. 225.

† Tindal, iii. 349.

Mint and Fryars, gave the first mortal blow to the prosperity of these excesses."*

Another method by which De Foe suffered in his fortunes, was the collusive dealing too frequently practised between debtor and creditor.† He seems also to have been the dupe of some knavish projector. In noticing the artful schemes that were adopted to entrap the unwary, he says, "I might go on to expose the frauds and tricks of stock-jobbers, patentees, &c., but I have not gall enough for such a work. But as a general rule of caution to those who would not be tricked out of their estates by such pretenders to new inventions, let them observe, that all such people who may be suspected of design, have assuredly this in their proposal; your money to the author must go before the experiment. And here I could give a very diverting history of a patent-monger, whose cully was nobody but myself; but I refer it to another occasion."‡ The following case was probably his own: "A certain usurer, not a mile from Southwark, had in his possession two bonds of a very good friend and near relation, of nine years standing; which bonds were satisfied in the year 1696, and interest paid half-yearly: and at the satisfaction of these bonds, desiring to have them cancelled, he said he could not find them, but when they came to his hands, he promised upon his honour to cancel the same. They had correspondence together till the 2nd of June, 1702, at which time he gave him a note under hand, that there remained nothing due to each other; but since is gone aside, and has made over these two bonds to another person, who is now going to put them in suit. But from 1696 to this present time, (Feb. 24, 1705) has never asked interest, nor said he had such bonds by him." In just such a case as this, he tells us, "The unhappy author was a particular sufferer."§

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* Review, iii. 75.

† Essay on Projects, p. 204.

‡ Ibid, p. 13, 14.

§ Review, i. 421, 422.

Fortunately for De Foe, he never had occasion to appear before those harpies of the law, the Commissioners of Bankrupts, against whose ruinous proceedings he exclaims so bitterly in several of his Reviews. It was no uncommon thing, he tells us, for these men to consume the whole of a bankrupt's estate in feastings and vexatious law suits, in the profits of which they largely participated, being generally men in the law. "Commissions of Bankrupt, as now practiced," says he, "are such depredations and invasions of common justice, such oppressions upon the sinking fortunes of distressed families, that I cannot think any debtor obliged to the same measures with such people, as they are with others. The law of self defence arms the debtor against these ravenous harpies, as it arms against the assaults of a highwayman or a cut-throat. In short, the *English Rogue* would be a fool to the horrid collection of villanies practiced by these law-tyrants, who revel in the blood of families, and eat up the food of the starving debtors; who sell debtor and creditor for the maintenance of their lusts, and devour, not the widow's houses only, but the widows themselves. It may be suggested by the conjecturing part of mankind, that since the author has fallen into very ill hands, he therefore exclaims so warmly against the commissioners; but this is false. Though I have had a large share of misfortunes in the world, and no man more, yet it has pleased Providence hitherto, to keep me out of such hands; and my knowledge of the barbarous usage of the debtor, by those abstracted thieves, I call commissioners, is hitherto not at my own cost, but at the cost of others, whose families I have seen undone, and whose creditors I have seen cheated, while these people have made merry with the disaster."*

Whilst the affairs of De Foe were going backwards, he probably resorted to those shifts and expedients for the purpose of maintaining his credit, which eventually aggravated his distress. The errors he committed against his better judgment were a source of remorse upon calm reflection, and he had the manliness to avow them in connexion with his penitence. "While I speak with some more than common concern of these things," says he, "perhaps it may lead to some men of retort to say, he speaks experimentally; to which I answer freely, 'Tis a shame to do evil, but none at all to acknowledge and reform. I freely rank myself with those that are ready to own, they have in the extremities and embarrassments of trade, done those things which their own principles condemned, which they are not ashamed to blush for, which they look back upon with regret, and strive to make reparation for with their utmost diligence."*

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* Review, iii. 134, 5.

Whatever might have been the immediate cause of De Foe's failure, he supported himself under it with exemplary fortitude; a circumstance the more remarkable when we consider his natural vivacity, which was not at all subdued by misfortune. To his heaviest trials, he brought a strength of mind that enabled him to cope with them; and fearless of injury, he both spoke and wrote like a man who was sustained by conscious rectitude. With honest concern for the interests of his creditors, he only desired time to satisfy their demands. "He that cannot pay his debts," says he, "may be an honest man; he that can and will not must be a knave. He that can pay his debts at leisure, may not be able to do it all at once, and if it were required of all men, the Lord have mercy upon half the tradesmen in England." Of himself, therefore, he says, "He that will not believe the public disaster has been a blow to his affairs, and disabled him from immediate compliance with just demands, must be a fool. He that will have patience will find him honest; he that will not, seems to have more cruelty than human nature can excuse, and labours as much as in him lies, to prevent the trial of his integrity, and foreclose himself."*

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* Review, iii. 86.

In the midst of his misfortunes, De Foe found the value of personal character; for, so high a sense of his honour was entertained by his creditors, that they agreed to take his own personal security for the amount of composition upon his debts. The confidence thus reposed in him he more than justified, returning to most, if not all his creditors, the full amount of their original demand. This was a fine illustration of the effect of moral principle, and an exemplification of the advice he gave to others. "Never think yourselves discharged in conscience," says he, "though you may be discharged in law. The obligation of an honest mind can never die. No title of honour, no recorded merit, no mark of distinction can exceed that lasting appellation, an 'honest man.' He that lies buried under such an epitaph, has more said of him than volumes of history can contain. The payment of debts, after fair discharges, is the clearest title to such a character that I know; and how any man can begin again, and hope for a blessing from heaven, or favour from man, without such a resolution, I know not."†(c)

In a printed pamphlet, intitled, "A Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observator," published in 1702, there is a recorded testimony to his honesty by one who was not his friend. "I must do one piece of justice to the man," observes the writer, "though I love him no better than you do: it is this; that meeting a gentleman in a coffee-house, when I and every body else were railing at him, the gentleman took us up with this short speech. "Gentlemen," said he, "I know this De Foe as well as any of you, for I was one of his creditors, compounded with him, and discharged him fully. Several years afterwards he sent for me, and though he was clearly discharged, he paid me all the remainder of his debt voluntarily, and of his own accord; and he told me, that as far as God should enable him, he intended to do so with every body. When he had done, he desired me to set my hand to a paper to acknowledge it, which I readily did, and found a great many names to the paper before me; and I think myself bound to own it, though I am no friend to the book he wrote no more than you." The work here alluded to, was his "Shortest Way with the Dissenters."

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* Review, ii. 304.

† Ibid, iii. 147, 8.

(c) De Foe relates an eminent example of the effect of honesty, in the case of Major-General Wood, who, says he, "has not only been an honour to English bravery in the field, but is now an honour to English honesty at home; having generously discharged his former obligations, contracted before he took up arms, and paid his creditors their full, several years after they had fully released him from a part." *Review*, iii. 148. General Wood was celebrated for his generosity and probity by Prior, in his letter to M. Boileau, upon the victory at Blenheim, in 1704, under the name of Sylvius. Steele is also thought to have drawn his character in the Spectator, No. 152. He died the 17th of May, 1712, in the 75th year of his age. There is some account of him in the lives of illustrious persons for that year; from whence it appears, that at the time of his failure, he was a linendraper in London. His father was Seth Wood, the ejected minister.

To what part of the kingdom De Foe retired when he escaped from the fangs of the law, is not known; perhaps to Bristol, where he certainly resided for a time, when he was under apprehension from his creditors. A friend of mine in that city,* informs me of a tradition in his family, that rather countenances this supposition. He says, that one of his ancestors remembered De Foe, and sometimes saw him walking in the streets of Bristol, accoutred in the fashion of the times, with a fine flowing wig, lace ruffles, and a sword by his side. Also, that he there obtained the name of "The Sunday Gentleman," because, through fear of the bailiffs, he did not dare to appear in public upon any other day. The fact of De Foe's residence in Bristol, either at this, or some later period of his life, is further corroborated by the following circumstance. About a century ago, as the same friend informs me, there was a tavern in Castle Street, known by the sign of the Red Lion, and kept by one Mark Watkins, an intelligent man, who had been in better circumstances. His house was in considerable repute amongst the tradesmen of Bristol, who were in the habit of resorting there after dinner, for the purpose of smoaking their pipes, and hearing the news of the day. De Foe, following the custom of the times, occasionally mixed with them at these seasons, and was well known to the landlord under the same name of "The Sunday Gentleman." The house is still standing, and is now a mere pot-house. The same Mark Watkins, it is said, used to entertain his company, in after times, with an account of a singular personage, who made his appearance in Bristol clothed in goat-skins, in which dress he was in the habit of walking the streets, and went by the name of Alexander Selkirk, or Robinson Crusoe.

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* Mr. Whittuck.

CHAPTER XIV.

De Foe's Reflections in his Adversity.—Occupations during his Retirement.—Voyage to the World of Cartesius.—De Foe is offered a Settlement at Cadiz.—Which he declines.—His Account of himself at this Time.—He projects Ways and Means for the Government.—Is appointed Accountant to the Commissioners of Glass Duty.—Notice of Dalby Thomas.—De Foe's Connexion with the Pantile-works at Tilbury.—Sustains great loss by their Failure.—Remarkable Occurrence during his Residence at Tilbury.—Retrievement of his Affairs.—Conjecture upon the Alteration of his Name.

1692—1695.

" MAN is the worst of all God's creatures to shift for himself: no other animal is ever starved to death. Nature without has provided them both food and clothes; and nature within has placed an instinct that never fails to direct them to proper means for a supply. But man must either work or starve, slave or die. He has indeed reason given him to direct him, and few who follow the dictates of that reason, come to such unhappy exigences. But, when by the errors of a man's youth, he has reduced himself to such a degree of distress, as to be absolutely without three things—money, friends, and health, he dies in a ditch, or in some worse place, an hospital."*

Such were the musings of De Foe in the day of his calamity. But his genius, fertile in expedients, would not allow him to starve, and he possessed too much fortitude of mind to sink under his misfortunes. During the two years subsequent to his failure, he probably lived in retirement, chiefly in the country, and disengaged from the entanglements of business. But his leisure was not that of idleness. Following the leading bent of his mind, he resumed his literary pursuits, and composed at this period his "Essay upon Projects," although he did not think fit to publish it until nearly five years afterwards.

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* Essay upon Projects, p. 31.

This seems to be the proper place for noticing a work that has been usually ascribed to De Foe, but with questionable propriety. It is intitled, "A Voyage to the World of Cartesius. Written originally in French. Translated into English by T. Taylor, M. A., of Magdalen College, Oxford. London: Printed for Thomas Bennet, at the Half Moon in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1692." 8vo. pp. 298. The work is dedicated to James Ludford, of Ansely, Esq., and passed to a second edition in 1694.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the name of the French writer, from whom this is said to be a translation, is no where mentioned in it; and there are allusions which clearly shew that the original, if ever there was any other, could not have been written long before the translation (D). The object of the writer is artfully concealed, but not so much so, as to be in any danger of being mistaken. He explains the principal points of the Cartesian philosophy, with a view to overthrow the system of the material world, as explained by its founder, and he ridicules his speculations upon the human soul. The mode employed is that of a dialogue between several disembodied spirits, of whom the author is one; and his adventures through the regions of space, are told with some ingenuity. The author's attempt to illustrate the doctrine of transubstantiation by the philosophy of Des Cartes, shows him to have been no good Catholic. It

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(D) Upon a reference to Dunton's "Athenian Mercury," Vol. iii. Supplement, I find there was a Paris edition, printed in 1691, and that common report assigned this work to Father Daniel, the Jesuit.

was but a few years before, that our illustrious countryman, Sir Isaac Newton, had propounded his system to the world; but the prejudice was so strong in favour of Des Cartes, that it was sometime before he gave way to his more accurate competitor. The subject was popular at the time, but the interest in it having long since subsided, this attempt to explode a fanciful system, is not much sought for, and consequently bears a low price. (E)

De Foe's acquaintance with foreign trade, and more particularly with that to Spain and Portugal, in which he had been formerly engaged, induced his friends to come forward in his distress, with the offer of settling him as a factor at Cadiz; and they proposed such advantageous terms, that with the requisite care and attention, he might have accumulated a fortune with little risk. De Foe, upon this, as upon other occasions, was less ambitious of wealth than of fame, and paid so little court to the former, that it is no wonder she so often deserted him. Literary men can seldom stoop to the drudgery of the counting-house. With limited

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(E) There does not seem to be any good reason for ascribing the translation of the above work to any other than the person whose name it bears. THOMAS TAYLOR, or TAYLOUR as Wood spells it, is said by that writer to have been the son of William Taylour of Newton-Regis, in Warwickshire. In 1686, at seventeen years of age, he became servitor of Magdalen College, Oxford; but that establishment being soon afterwards dissolved in consequence of the introduction of Papists by James II., he removed to All Soul's College. Upon the restoration of the Protestant fellows about a year afterwards, he returned to his former station, and was made a demy of that house. In 1694, he became vicar and schoolmaster of Bicester, in Oxfordshire. Wood mentions his "Voyage to the World of Cartesius," and another of his works, "A Comparison of Thucydides and Livy, 1694." 8vo. From the French of Rapin.* His name is to the English translation of "Malebranche's Search after Truth, 1694," folio, which Dunton ascribes to Richard Sault. Mr. Taylor also translated "The History of the Jews," in continuation of Josephus, from the French of Mons. Basnage, 1708, folio. There is a letter from the author prefixed to it, commending the translation.

* Wood's Athenæ, ii. 1023.

desires for the creation of wealth, it is not often that they look beyond the present moment; and the desire of accumulating is generally sacrificed to the inferior considerations of present ease and convenience. Under the influence of some such considerations, De Foe rejected the offer of his friends, and resolved to stay at home.

The account he gives of himself at this period is as follows: "Misfortunes in business having unhinged me from matters of trade, it was about the year 1694, when I was invited by some merchants, with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at Cadiz, in Spain; and that with the offers of very good commissions. But Providence, which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting England upon any account, and made me refuse the best offers of that kind, to be concerned with some eminent persons at home, in proposing ways and means to the government for raising money to supply the occasions of the war, then newly begun."*

England was then embarked in an expensive war with France, in support of King William's title to the crown, and for the further purpose of arresting the conquests of the French monarch. Although the sums raised to defray the expenditure were trifling when compared with what we have seen in our day, yet they were at that time deemed considerable; and money was not then raised with so much facility as it has been since. Upon the subject of ways and means, De Foe suggested a general assessment of personal property, the amount to be settled by composition, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by the king. "The retailers," says he, "are the men who seem to call upon us to be taxed, if not by their extraordinary good circumstances, though that might bear it, yet by the contrary in all other degrees of the kingdom. Besides, the retailers are the only men who could pay it with least damage, because it is in their power to levy it again upon their customers in the prices of their goods; and is no more than paying a higher rent for their shops. The retailers of manufactures, especially so far as relates to the inland trade, have never been taxed yet, and their wealth or number is not easily calculated. Trade and land have been handled roughly enough; and these are the men who now lye as a reserve to carry on the burthen of the war. In a general tax, if any are excused it should be the poor, who are not able to pay, or at least are pinched in the necessary parts of life by paying." Of the efficacy of his scheme our author was so well satisfied, that he offered to farm the revenue arising from it, at a rent of three millions annually, giving good security for the payment, "And when that is done," says he, "the nation would get three more by paying it, which is very strange, but might easily be made out."*

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 5, 6.

If the finances of De Foe were at this time any way commensurate with the ways and means which he provided for the public, he must have been in the high-road to wealth. But whatever emolument he may have derived from his speculations for the government, he now procured from its agents a temporary appointment, which yielded him a certain revenue. "Sometime after this," says he, "I was, without the least application of mine, and being then seventy miles from London, sent for to be accountant to the commissioners of the glass duty, in which service I continued to the determination of their commission."† De Foe received his appointment in 1695, probably through the intervention of his friend, Dalby Thomas, (F) one of the commissioners; and it ceased

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* Essay upon Projects. *Pref.* † Appeal, &c. p. 6.

(F) Mr., afterwards Sir Dalby Thomas, was a West India merchant. In 1687, he procured, in conjunction with Colonel Walrond and some others, a sort of monopoly for the facture of all goods from the West Indies, by which no man, who was not of their company, was to be allowed to sell sugars or any other commodities from the plantations: but it was strongly upon the suppression of the tax by act of parliament, August the 1st, 1699.[*]

It was subsequently to his misfortunes in business, and probably about this time, that De Foe became secretary to the tile-kiln and brick-kiln works at Tilbury, in Essex; and he is said to have filled the office several years.[†] In allusion to this employment, his enemies said sarcastically, that "he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without straw; but like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourers."[‡] In that age of party feeling, the writers upon politics set no bounds to their malevolence; but so base an insinuation requires no other comment than, that in point of moral honesty, De Foe was as much before his enemies as he outstripped them in talent. The failure of this speculation seems to have been owing rather to the want of encouragement upon the part of the public, than to any imprudence in the projector. Pantiles had been hitherto a Dutch manufacture, and were brought in large quantities to England. To supersede the necessity of their importation, and to provide a new channel for the employment of labour, the works at Tilbury were laudably erected; and De Foe tells us, that he employed a hundred poor labourers in the undertaking. The capital embarked in the concern must also have been considerable; for he informs us, that his own loss by its failure was no less a sum than three thousand pounds. But, besides so serious a misfortune to himself, it was no less so to the public, not only by the failure of an

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opposed by the West India merchants in London; and the Revolution happening soon afterwards, it fell to the ground. In 1690, Mr. Thomas published "An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies, &c." After the failure of the glass duty commission, he was knighted, and accepted the situation of governor of the African company's settlements. He married Dorothy, daughter of John Chettle, Esq., of Blandford, by whom he had an only daughter and heiress, Susannah Thomas, who died in 1731.

[*] 10—11, Will. III. c. 18. [†] Oldmixon, iii. 519.

[‡] Chalmer's Life of De Foe, p. 10.

ingenious manufacture, but for the sake of the numerous families supported by it, who were now turned adrift in the world, or thrown upon some other branch of trade. De Foe continued the pantile works, it is believed, until the year 1703, when he was prosecuted by the government for a libel; and being deprived of his liberty, the undertaking soon came to an end.(G)

De Foe's engagements at Tilbury requiring his residence there, he took a house near the water side, and occasionally amused himself by excursions upon the Thames. Upon one of these occasions, a circumstance of unusual occurrence in this country fell under his notice, and is thus related by himself. After descanting upon the natural history of the Ant, who is furnished with wings at a certain growth, as if it were a direction to change its habitation, he says, "Being thus equipped, they fly away in great multitudes, seeking new habitations, and not being well practised in the use of their wings, they grow weary, and pressing one another down by their own weight, when they begin to tire, they fall like a shower. I once knew a flight of these ants come over the marshes from Essex, in a most prodigious quantity, like a black cloud. They began to fall about a mile before they came to the Thames, and in flying over the river, they fell so thick that the water was covered with them. I had

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(G) In his "Review" for March 24, 1705, De Foe thus alludes to the circumstances above related. "Nor should the author of this paper boast in vain, if he tells the world, that he himself, before violence, injury, and barbarous treatment demolished him and his undertaking, employed a hundred poor people in making pantiles in England, a manufacture always bought in Holland; and thus he pursued this principle with his utmost zeal for the good of England: and those gentlemen who so eagerly persecuted him for saying what all the world since owns to be true, and which he has since a hundred times offered to prove, were particularly serviceable to the nation, in turning that hundred of poor people and their families a begging for work, and forcing them to turn other poor families out of work to make room for them, besides three thousand pounds damage to the author of this, which he has paid for this little experience."

two servants rowing a small boat over the river just at that time, and I believe near two pecks of them fell into the boat. They fell so thick, that I believe my hatfull came down the funnel of two chimnies in my house, which stood near the river's edge; and in proportion to this quantity, they fell for the space, as I could observe, of half a mile in breadth at least: some workmen I employed there said, they spread two miles, but then they fell not so thick, and they continued falling for near three miles. Any body will imagine the quantity thus collected together must be prodigious; but, if again they will observe the multitude of these ant-hills, and the millions of creatures to be seen in them, they will cease to wonder."* The surprising shower of flies seen in the streets of London, in July 1707, De Foe supposes to have been no other than a fall of these ants.

The occupations of De Foe must now have afforded him a comfortable subsistence, for which he was indebted partly to his own industry, and partly to the favour of King William, and other friends, through whose kind offices his affairs seem to have continued in a prosperous condition through the remainder of this reign. As yet, he had given no offence to any political party by the keenness of his satire; and being of companionable habits, the vivacity of his conversation, joined to a readiness of wit, threw a charm around his society which recommended him to a large circle of acquaintance. His honorable conduct in business had raised him up numerous friends during the season of distress; and his connexions at court now procured him the notice of persons eminent for their rank, and for their wealth. In the number of his friends at this time, he makes mention of Sir John Fagg, M.P. for Steyning, in Sussex, where he had a noble seat, and hospitably entertained De Foe in the summer of 1697.†

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* Review, iv. 317—319.

† Tour through Great Britain, vol. i., Let. ii. p. 63.

When, or upon what occasion it was, that De Foe made the alteration in his name, by connecting with it the foreign prefix, no where appears. His enemies said, he adopted it because he would not be thought an Englishman; but this notion seems to have no other foundation than the circumstance of his having, in consequence of his zeal for King William, attacked the prejudices of his countrymen, in his well-known satire of "The True-born Englishman." Oldmixon intimates, that it was not until after he had stood in the pillory, that he changed his name;* and Dr. Browne tells us, that he did it at the suggestion of Harley: †

"Have I not chang'd by your advice my name."

But no reliance is to be placed upon the testimony of either of these writers when speaking of De Foe. His motive was, probably, a dislike to his original name, either for its import, or its harshness; or he might have been desirous of restoring it to its Norman origin. A correspondent having bantered the "Review," upon its import, he replies, "If the gentleman has a favourable opinion of the Review, we fancy he will not dislike it upon the account of the author's name, as like a thing which he himself is not; being a foe in name only, not in nature to any body."‡

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* Hist. of England, iii. 301.

† State Poems, &c., ii. 144.

‡ Little Review, ii. 87.

CHAPTER XV.

Disaffection to King William.—Treachery of his Ministers.—Contentions with the Prerogative.—Correspondence with James.—His Discourse with the French King.—Louis's Opinion of the English.—Change in the Ministry.—Death of Queen Mary.—Her Character.—Death and Character of Archbishop Tillotson.—His Place filled by Tennison.—De Foe known to Queen Mary.—His Account of her Taste for Gardening.—And other Habits.—The Jacobites elated at her Death.—Circumstances favourable to William.—Corruption of Public Men.

1694—1696.

Whilst De Foe was thus busily employed in retrieving his circumstances, the affairs of William, owing to a variety of causes, were rapidly upon the decline. From his ministers, who cherished but little attachment to him, he derived but slender support; nor did his employing them yield him any satisfaction beyond the countenance they afforded to his military projects. Not only were the inferior departments of the state filled with persons hostile to his title, but men of the same description were invested with commands, both in the army and navy, which produced a system of counteraction and intrigue, fatal to any hope of success. If those who have the discredit of these appointments had no serious intention to overturn the revolution-settlement, they pursued measures that ill-accorded with its safety; and the treacherous practices that resulted from them were no secret to the nation. Under these disadvantages, it is no wonder if the plans of William often miscarried. A prince of inferior talents would never have surmounted the difficulties of his situation; having to contend not only against a powerful enemy in the field, but against more dangerous traitors in his cabinet.

The little cordiality that subsisted between the king and his ministers, extended to the parliament, and produced an unfavourable impression upon his popularity with the nation. As this was decidedly a Tory-parliament, nothing but personal hostility to the monarch could suggest those concessions to liberty which characterized some of its measures, and would have been stifled in former reigns as direct invasions of the prerogative. Such was the Place Bill, the Act for Triennial Parliaments, and another for the Independence of the Judges. To get rid of these, William had recourse to the unpopular method of interposing his negative.

When the crown was conferred upon King William, it was accompanied by the same prerogatives that belonged to it under his predecessors: all that the parliament did, was to claim certain rights for the people which legally belonged to them before, but were arbitrarily withheld by a despotic government. In this respect, perhaps, they acted unwisely. Had they listened to the suggestions of those who advised them to improve the opportunity for retrenching its powers, they would not only have conferred a greater obligation upon posterity, but have saved themselves much contention with the crown afterwards. Princes, like their inferiors, however beneficently disposed, never willingly part with power. For this, indeed, they are to be lightly blamed; since all men seek it as a weapon, which each imagines he can handle better than his neighbour. Power, however, in the hands of weak or bad men, is a dangerous weapon; and even in those of the good, it is liable to abuse: those, therefore, who have the means of withholding it, and neglect to do so, are the most to blame. The absurd notions with regard to kings that prevailed at the Revolution, stifled the suggestions of prudence and good sense, and conferred upon those who gave way to them, the unfashionable names of republicans and fanatics. Language, like dress, has its periodical changes; and it is fortunate for the cause of truth that it is so. It is to the credit of William, that if he clung to power, he never used it for unworthy purposes; and it deserves to be remarked, that greater concessions were made to the people in his short reign, than in the whole period that elapsed from the days of *Magna Charta.*

Encouraged by the reports he was continually receiving from the disaffected, James was desirous of making another attempt for the recovery of his crown. His friends about him, elated at the prospect of a speedy restoration, set no bounds either to their prudence or their joy; and began to carve out in their imagination the places they were to occupy in the new court. The unfortunate exile was so far misled upon this occasion, "That he acquainted the French king with the frequent good tidings from his late subjects, who now were returned to their allegiance, and all free to hazard their lives and fortunes for his return; which, he said, were all true according to his intelligence, and that he was most certain and sure that none would oppose him in England. The French king told him that he was glad to hear it, and wished it might prove so; but seemed to give little credit to it." Louis appears to have had better intelligence of what was passing in England than James; for, when pressed hard to furnish the necessary succours for an invasion, he replied, "As you have experience to know your subjects, so I know them by their character, and do believe them to be a people of no faith, no honor, and no honesty, whom no promise can oblige, nor oath can bind. And as for their clergy, I look upon them much worse than the commonalty, having not only by teaching and preaching taught the people to forswear themselves, but shewed ill-examples in themselves by doing the same. They have sworn allegiance to you, and since accepted of the Prince of Orange for their king, and swear allegiance to him. How this swearing to both can be reconciled, I cannot understand. But, let them swear what they will, I should not believe them, nor put any more value upon their oaths than they do themselves, which is nothing at all. Neither do I understand how you can be assured of them that have no other assurance to give you of their future fidelity but their oaths, which are worth as much now, as when they broke with your majesty last. It is out of my reach to put any trust in such people, neither would I have you confide in them, for I doubt much their integrity; and if they are weary of the war at a distance what will they not be when it is with them at home? That will be your time to hear them, and not before." James was not a little confounded at this sudden blow to his prospects; and returning in discontent to St. Germains, the intelligence "put that court into such a fit of grief and sorrow, that they were all like so many people going to die." These facts we learn from a pamphlet published in England at this time, and entitled "A Short and True Relation of Intrigues, transacted both at home and abroad, to restore the late King James. 1694."*

The judgment which Louis had formed of the high-church clergy, for to them only will it apply, is borne out by the testimony of Burnet, and other writers of the same time; who represent them as too generally devoid of principle, swearing allegiance to a government they mortally hated, and destitute of the virtue and courage to make any personal sacrifice in behalf of a prince to whom they secretly wished success.

The miscarriages that attended the measures of government both by land and sea, plainly pointed out the existence of treason, either in the contrivers, or in those who executed them. By degrees, the king became awakened to his situation, and at length saw the necessity of changing his ministers. The removals, however, were very gradual, and not finally completed until the Spring of 1694. (H) Under the auspices of a ministry more united in principle, and prompted by inclination to support the objects of the Revolution, the affairs of William began to assume a more favourable aspect; and they would have been still more prosperous, but for the perfidy of persons high in rank and low in the scale of patriotism, who disgraced their station by corresponding with the enemy. The lenity of William towards persons of this description was ill-bestowed, and betrayed a weakness inconsistent with the safety of the state. A revolution founded in opposition to prevailing political maxims, might be expected to give rise to plots and conspiracies, which were only to be counteracted by a vigorous government, in the hands of persons wholly devoted to its support.

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* Somers's Tracts, xi. 94.

The year 1694, which commenced so auspiciously, ended with a scene of calamity both to the king and nation. During the early part of the winter, the small pox raged violently in London, carrying off many thousand persons. As the queen had never yet taken the disease, serious apprehensions were entertained for her safety, particularly when she exhibited the first symptoms of illness. She was seized at Kensington Palace, the 21st of December; and the disorder soon assuming an unfavorable appearance, she prepared herself with pious resignation for her approaching fate. During her short illness, the king, who had lived with her in a state of conjugal felicity, gave vent to the most tender emotions: observing, "That from the happiest, he was now going to be the most miserable creature upon earth." He

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(H) The first appointments were Lord Somers to be the keeper of the Great Seal, and Sir John Trenchard principal Secretary of State. After some time, Admiral Russel was re-appointed to the command of the fleet, and to the chief seat at the Admiralty; the Earl of Nottingham was replaced by the Earl of Shrewsbury; Lord Godolphin took the lead at the Treasury; and Mr. Charles Montague was made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

said, that "During the whole course of their marriage, he had never known one single fault in her; and that there was a worth in her which nobody knew besides himself." Tennison, and other bishops, were employed to administer to her the offices of religion; but she had not now to seek its consolations, having dedicated her life to those moral and religious duties which had been so long a stranger to the English court. Having lived a pattern of many virtues, she closed her days with great tranquillity, after only a week's illness, upon the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. The king retained his regard for her to the latest hour of his life; and after his death, a ringlet of her hair, confined with black ribbon, was found upon his left arm.*

The intelligence of the queen's death was received by the better part of the nation with feelings of deep affliction. She was, indeed, deservedly lamented, as well for her capacity in public affairs, as for her private worth. In that factious period, she stood aloof from the influence of party, and avoided all interference in politics, beyond those matters which the king confided to her. During his absence, she governed the kingdom with discretion; neither dismayed by the difficulties of her situation, nor deficient in firmness when the exercise of it was called for. Although the claims of consanguinity would have furnished an ordinary mind with incentives to ambition, and she was surrounded by men who were willing to instil them, yet she would never listen to the suggestions of personal aggrandizement. Devoid of ambition, and indifferent to worldly grandeur, she preferred the cultivation of those accomplishments and graces which constitute the chief ornament of her sex. She took great pains to reform the court, discountenancing the vices of the great, and encouraging useful occupations by her own example. Bishop Burnet says, she withdrew ladies from that idleness which not only wasted their time, but exposed them to many temptations; and that she would spend many hours in the day with them at needle-work, whilst it was the business of one to read to the rest. By a methodical arrangement of her time, she found leisure for its various duties; and in her private intercourse, she recommended herself by her easy manners, and her amiable disposition. With a deep sense of religion upon her mind, she lent all her influence to its support; and rising above the narrow prejudices that actuated too many of its professors, she was for drawing Christians together by the cords of love, rather than for binding them in the chains of an ecclesiastical uniformity. As the legal guardian of the Church of England, the management of which the king devolved entirely upon her, she discovered much wisdom and prudence; filling up the preferments at her disposal with men of moderate principles, who were devoted to the duties of their profession. In these concerns, Tillotson, the most amiable of prelates, was her chief confidant; and, had their lives been prolonged but a few years, the church would have been spared the disgrace that was heaped upon her by the furious spirits in the next reign. It is certain, that since the days of Elizabeth, the higher offices in the church were never sustained by such an assemblage of wise, prudent, and religious men, as those who were promoted during the short period of her government; for, whatever learning may be assigned to their predecessors, they are to be looked upon rather in the light of ecclesiastical lawyers, than as the humble followers of the meek and lowly founder of Christianity.*

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* Oldmixon, iii. 260.

The death of Tillotson, which happened about five weeks before that of the queen, was a most serious loss both to the church and nation, and excited a more universal sorrow than was ever known for a subject. He was, indeed, a good man, full of the fruits of faith; and, abstracting himself from politics, rendered the office of a bishop subservient to religious purposes. But his mild temper and Christian principles drew upon him the hatred of those who were deficient in both. Bishop Burnet, an exemplary prelate, observes, "It was a melancholy thing to consider that, though we never saw an archbishop before him apply himself so entirely, without partiality or bias, to all the concerns of the church and religion as he did, and that the queen's heart was set on promoting them; yet, such an evil spirit should seem to be let loose upon the clergy. They complained of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way," and what that was, the history of the times affords a discreditable tale. Burnet adds, "We were all soon convinced that there was a set of clergymen among us that would never be satisfied as long as the toleration was continued: and they semed resolved to give it out that the church was in danger, till a prosecution of the Dissenters should be again set on foot; nor could they look at a man with patience, or speak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in these things."* Tillotson had what was far better than the praise of bigots; the approbation of an enlightened conscience, and the esteem of the wise and good of all religious persuasions. King William's eulogy upon him was, "I never knew an honester man; and I never had a better friend." He was, in all respects, an ornament to his order. To considerable talents and learning, he united a remarkable modesty, and a manly piety; and he was distinguished by politeness of manner both in speaking and writing. As he was a careful observer of human nature so he made a large allowance for the frailties of others, and was disposed to put the best construction upon their actions. This amiable prelate died in his sixty-fifth year, upon the

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* Burnet's Own Times, iii. 162, 184, 188.

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* Burnet's Own Times, iii. 162, 3.

22nd of November, 1694, and in poorer circumstances than usually fall to the lot of his order. It was observed of him, that he despised wealth any further than as it was a means for charity.*

His place was filled by Dr. Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln, a man of similar temper and principles, remarkable for gravity, and more studious of the honour of the church, than of his own private interest. It was thought by some that he would be less difficult to manage than Tillotson; but those who thus calculated were mistaken: "he was not of that compliant temper of mind which courtiers are apt to wish for in bishops."† Tennison lived through the whole of this and the next reign, a period of great party-strife; but he governed the church with firmness and moderation, maligned only by bigots, and reverenced for those virtues which confer a greater distinction upon his name than the adventitious honours of his station. His respect for the rights of conscience, and his noble stand for liberty at a subsequent period, fully justified the wisdom of William's choice.

De Foe had the honour of being personally known to Queen Mary, whose taste for gardening, as exhibited in the royal demesnes at Kensington, he thus celebrates: "The first laying out of these gardens was the design of the late Queen Mary, who finding the air agreed with, and was necessary to the health of the king, resolved to make it agreeable to herself too, and gave the first order for enlarging the gardens. The author of this account having had the honour to attend her majesty when she first viewed the ground, and directed the doing it, speaks this with the more satisfaction."‡ The king himself had a congenial taste for horticulture, and took particular delight in ever-greens, as adding much to the beauty of a garden in the depth of winter. De Foe tells us, that the only two gardens in which they had been encouraged to any extent, were those of Sir Stephen Fox, at Isleworth, and Sir William Temple, at East Sheen; but that the king's example was soon followed by all the gentlemen of England.* Kensington palace had been purchased for a royal residence of the Earl of Nottingham, and underwent a considerable enlargement. Whilst the king and queen were in residence there, the south wing was accidentally burnt down, a circumstance thus noticed by De Foe: "the queen was a little surprised at first, apprehending some treason; but King William, a stranger to fear, smiled at the suggestion, cheered her majesty, and, being soon dressed, they both walked out into the garden, and stood there some hours, till they perceived the fire, by the help that came in, and by the diligence of the foot-guards, was gotten under."†

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* Cunningham's Great Brit. i. 118, 131, 148. † Ibid, 150.

‡ Tour through Great Britain, vol. ii. Let. iii. p. 14.

De Foe notices two customs introduced by the queen that eventually proved injurious to trade. The first was the taste for fine East India calicoes, and painted chintz, which, says he, "afterwards descended into the humours of the common people, so much as to make them grievous to our trade, and ruinous to our manufactures and the poor; so that the Parliament was obliged to make two acts at several times, to restrain, and at last to prohibit the use of them." The other custom mentioned by De Foe, was that of furnishing houses with china-ware, which, says he, "increased to a strange degree afterwards, piling their china upon the tops of cabinets, scrutoires, and every chimney-piece to the tops of the ceilings, and even setting up shelves for their china-ware where they wanted such places, till it became a grievance in the expence of it, and even injurious to the families and estates. The good queen," continues our author, "far from designing any injury to the country, where she was so entirely beloved, little thought that she was in either of these laying a foundation for such fatal excesses, and would no doubt have been the first to reform them had she lived to see it."[*] Addison afterwards ridiculed this fashionable mania in the *Lover*.

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* Tour through Great Britain, vol. i. Let. ii. p. 123.

† Ibid. vol. ii. Let. iii. p. 14.

The death of the queen gave new hopes to the Jacobites, who expected that the influence of William would sink under the more precarious title with which he continued to fill the throne. Although their expectations were not realized, the king felt but little solicitude for a crown which had been attended by so many mortifications; and retiring to Richmond, he began to entertain serious thoughts of resigning it. From this he was earnestly dissuaded by some of the leading men in the nation, more out of concern for themselves, than from any affection to William.[†]

Fortunately for the nation, a variety of concurring causes stepped in to defeat the projects of the disaffected, and to prevent a contest, which, however it might have ended, must have caused a dreadful effusion of blood. Louis, who knew more of human affairs than James, and was better informed upon those of England, hung back upon the proposal of an invasion, the success of which would have tended more to further his schemes of ambition, than all his wars upon the continent. Amongst those who corresponded with James, there were some who had no serious intention of assisting him, whose sole object was to penetrate his secrets, and turn them to the public account. His real friends, too, were divided in their political sentiments. Some of them were anxious for securities which it was not in their power to obtain. Bare promises had been so often broken that they ceased to be of value, and those extorted by restraint were not to be depended upon; for Marlborough had already given him a hint that if he was restored to his crown, he would be under no necessity to observe them. Besides, a prince so wholly devoted to the Romish church, would be a dangerous guardian for a Protestant establishment; a circumstance that weighed with his friends of the high church party, whose zeal for their church, occasioned them to waver in their loyalty. But the prospects of James were chiefly blighted by the change in the policy of William, which gave strength and stability to his government, whilst it diminished the resources of his opponents. William owed much likewise to personal character; for, whilst his talents and bravery commanded respect from the princes of Europe, and inspired awe in his enemies, James had little but his piety to recommend him: and this, however commendable in private life, was insufficient to support his title to the regal dignity.*

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[*] Tour through Great Britain, vol. i. Let. ii. p. 122.

[†] Cunningham. i. 150.

One of the most astounding circumstances in the politics of the period, is the extensive correspondence which men of all parties had been carrying on with the exiled king. Strange as it may appear, it involved persons of the first rank, and these not only the avowed friends of James, but even some about the person of William, and others, who with apparent zeal had promoted the Revolution. This singular fact is too well ascertained by their published letters, which furnish a curious specimen of political obliquity upon the part of men who have enjoyed the reputation of patriots. It seems probable, indeed, that some of the persons implicated, wrote with the knowledge and connivance of the government; but such a mode of misleading an unfortunate prince, whatever may have been his demerits, was not honourable to any of the parties: for, not to notice the guilt of practising so gross a deception, it was exposing the virtue of public men to the suspicion of those who were not in the secret; and it was trifling with a principle which should at all times be held sacred by governments. The art of plotting had been so long practised in this country, that it had undermined the integrity of statesmen, who valued themselves too greatly upon their skill in a craft which they should have relinquished in favour of the worst ages of France and Rome.*

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* Somerville's Polit. Trans. Chap. xv.

* See Macpherson's Original Papers, 2 vols. 4to.

CHAPTER XVI.

Massacre at Glenco.—Circumstances that gave rise to it.—Misrepresented by Leslie and the Non-jurors.—Pamphlets respecting it.—A Commission of Inquiry appointed.—De Foe's Account of the Affair.—His Reflections upon it in the Review.—Remarks upon the perversion of History by modern writers.

1695.

A CIRCUMSTANCE which happened in the early part of this reign, and was at this time in a course of investigation, furnished the enemies of William with a plausible pretence for assailing his humanity; although, as subsequent inquiries have shown, without any sufficient reason. The affair alluded to was the far-famed massacre at Glenco, of which De Foe drew up a circumstantial narrative; and as it is an important document, exonerating the monarch from a serious charge, it shall be transcribed at length, after a few preliminary observations.

After the expulsion of James II., the cause of the Stuarts continued to be cherished by many persons in Scotland, and in the Highlands particularly, several of the clans waged open war against the government. As the French king threatened to land some troops in that part of the island, where they would have met with a powerful co-operation, it was the policy of William to conciliate his northern subjects; and with that view, he listened to the plan of distributing money amongst their chiefs. Upon the failure of this expedient, it was determined to alarm their fears, by having recourse to measures of severity. For this purpose, a proclamation was issued in August, 1691, offering a free pardon to such of the Highlanders as should come in and take the oaths to the government before the first of January following, and threatening military execution against those who did not comply. The effect was, that all the Highland chieftains gave in their submission with the exception of Macdonald of Glenco, who stood out until the 31st of December, being the last day of mercy, according to the tenor of the proclamation. It appears, that he afterwards took the oaths, but it being beyond the time specified, his enemies took advantage of the circumstance; and in the following February, some troops were sent into the valley of Glenco, where about thirty men were put to the sword, and Macdonald was killed in his bed. This massacre was followed by the plunder and desolation of the valley, the houses and villages being burnt by the soldiers. The officers employed in this business, appear to have acted under circumstances of peculiar treachery, and to have been instigated by instructions from Lord Stair, then Secretary of State for Scotland. His letters, however, were of a private kind, and although William's signature was to the instructions, yet there is no evidence that he had an accurate knowledge of their contents. Upon the whole it may be observed, that although the Glenco men had forfeited their lives as rebels to the existing government, yet the time and manner of their execution were both unwarrantable and cruel, and traitorous to the rights of hospitality.

This affair, as may be supposed, brought considerable odium both upon the king and his government, and was used for that purpose by the Jacobites, who represented it as more barbarous and bloody than the French or Irish massacre. When men are actuated by strong party-feeling, no absurdity is too great for their digestion. "A doleful account of it," says Oldmixon, "was drawn up by a non-juring priest in

Scotland, and sent to Leslie the non-juring priest in London, who having fitted it for their purpose, caused it to be printed and dispersed, purely to fill the heads of the people with injurious notions, that the throats of the Scots Highlanders were cut by the king's especial command, though he knew no more of the matter than King James did, and, indeed, as Bishop Kennet writes, "it was contrary to his intention."* This account was published in the form of "A Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland, to his Friend in London," dated April 20, 1692; and was afterwards prefixed to a quarto tract, intitled, "Gallicus Redivivus, or Murther will Out, &c., being a True Account of the De-Witting of Glenco, Gaffney, &c. Printed at Edinburgh, in the year 1695." (1)

To satisfy the public mind upon the subject, the government appointed a Commission of Inquiry, in June, 1693, when Mr. Secretary Johnstone had orders to probe the matter to the bottom. This commission was renewed in May, 1695, and the report of its proceedings, in connexion with the letters of Secretary Stair, lays open the real causes of a measure, in which much private malice appears to have been mixed up with a zeal for the public good. "The Commissioners found that there was nothing in the king's instructions to warrant the committing of the slaughter, and far less the manner of it; and that Secretary Stair's letters were in no wise warranted by, but quite exceeded the King's instruction."*

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* Hist. of England, iii. 120.

(1) The author of this party performance was Charles Leslie, of non-juring celebrity, who placed in his title page the following extract from Plutarch's Life of Timoleon, curious for the connexion in which it stands, and unfolding the sentiments of a slavish and priest-ridden party. "They gave out that the design of their coming was to introduce liberty, and depose tyrants. But having gained the power, they did so tyrannize themselves, that the reign of former oppressors seemed a golden age, if compared with the arbitrariness and exaction of these pretended deliverers, which made the Sicilians think them much more happy who expired in servitude, than those who lived to see such a dismal freedom." The men who could make such an application to King William, deserved to be the subjects of King James; and it was a pity they could not have the full benefit of his government in some corner of the earth, where it would have been out of their power to molest those who had different apprehensions of his clemency. Another account of the affair was published by a Jacobite in 1703, when much industry was employed to blacken the Revolution, and the character of its hero. It may be seen in the Somers's Collection.

The following narrative of this unhappy affair is from the pen of De Foe, who, living at the time, and having easy access to means of information, was fully competent to appreciate its real character. It is an interesting document, not only for its authenticity, but for the ability with which he vindicates the monarch.

"The affair of Glenco was another step to national breaches, and though every body tells me I must handle this very gently, perhaps they may see there is not so much cause for it as they imagine. Having the honour to have had something of this from persons very near the king, and perhaps, from his majesty's own mouth, I shall only state the general, so far as it has been reported to the injury of that glorious prince, and to the existing national animosities between us. In doing this I shall only avoid naming the persons. Let the guilty die in their graves; we are not now calling up the persons to judgment, but setting the matter in a clear light.

"That the Glenco men, among several other clans of the Highlanders, were enemies to the government at that time, had been in arms under Dundee, and had on all occasions shown their implacable aversion to King William and the Revolution, needs no proof, and is owned even by the greatest friends to the cause. That these people were not only very troublesome, but dangerous, and had committed several hostilities, murders, robberies, and depredations on the innocent country people their neighbours, as well as on the garrison of soldiers placed on that side to suppress them, is also out of dispute. The defence made for them is short; —That they were fair enemies and had professed open war. To which it is answered, 1. They cannot be owned as open enemies, because they really had no commissions from King James. And 2ndly. The war was as it were suppressed; the generality had laid down their arms and submitted; and these as a few desperadoes, kept up the quarrel rather as an advantage of rapine and plunder, than a service to their pretended master, or his cause. But, suppose them at open war: It has been the known practice in war, when a governor of a garrison holds out without expectation of relief, without any prospect but mere desperation and mischief, to give such no quarter; but even after taking the place, to hang them up in cold blood, as wild beasts that make no fair war, and deserve no fair treatment.

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* Somerville's K. William, p. 500.

"As his majesty had this account given him of these people, and I do not find but it was a true account too, it was the advice of the general and officers employed at that time, that it was a mischief which, as times then went, might be very dangerous to the public, and that therefore it behoved them to take some immediate course with them; and since desperate mischiefs require remedies of the same kind, they thought the first force the best, and proposed to march immediately with a body of troops into the place, and entirely root them out as a den of thieves and destroyers, without which the peaceable subjects could never be safe, nor the government be easy; that the charge of maintaining troops there was an intolerable burthen to the country, and as no other way could prevail to preserve the peace, it was absolutely necessary to come to extremity. His majesty, who by his experience in military affairs, was soon convinced both of the justice in point of war, and necessity in point of government, of this advice, yet out of his mere goodness of disposition and general clemency, answered, he agreed to their reasons, but required that before any such extremities should be used with them, a proclamation should be published, offering pardon for all offences and villanies past, to all these people without exception, who, within a certain time, should come in, lay down their arms, and submit to the government, and take the oaths as peaceable subjects. It is here visible, that his majesty's intentions were not only just and honorable to these people, though his implacable enemies, but that he resolved, like a merciful prince, to try all reasonable methods of tenderness and goodness, if possible, to keep the peace and save the offenders.

"With this proclamation, commission was given to the military power, if this merciful method could not prevail, they should proceed to extremities; and, by force of arms, destroy all those that should stand out, and not comply with the proclamation. And his majesty's orders were, as far as relates to this part, as follows:—The instructions were to Sir Thomas Livingston, dated January 11, 1692. The first clause is thus: 'You are hereby ordered and authorised to march our troops which are now posted at Inverlochie and Inverness, to act against these Highland rebels who have not taken the benefit of our indemnity, by fire and sword, and all manner of hostilities; to burn their houses, seize or destroy their goods, cattle, &c., and to cut off the men.' The fourth article runs thus: 'That the rebels may not think themselves absolutely desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarter; but we are so convinced of the necessity of severity, and that they cannot be reclaimed, that we will not allow you to give any other terms to chieftains, heretors or leaders, to be prisoners of war, whereby their lives are saved; but for all other things they must surrender on mercy, and take the oath of allegiance.' In additional instructions, one clause is thus, dated the 16th of January, 1699: 'If that Mackean of Glenco and his tribe, can be separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves.' "

"Thus far I think I may undertake to say His Majesty proceeded by the known custom of all the most just governments in the world; and it would be needless to examine histories to bring precedents here to justify the method. It is certain, and all men allow, that the Glenco men had not complied with the proclamation; nay, they had rejected two indemnities. I know it is objected, and Glenco came and took the oath six days after the time, made a legal and just excuse, and sent word of his willingness to comply with it, and that it was only a trespass of time, which they supposed he had repaired; that the end of the proclamation was answered, and that the king, who was mercifully inclined, would never have taken the lives of people, resolved to submit, for a trespass of days. To this I answer, as his majesty did in that case, that indeed had he been in the field, and on the spot, and that excuse had been sent to him, he might have accepted it; but that, as commissions in cases of war are to be punctually executed, he could not require it of the officers to accept it as an excuse against a positive proclamation, and an express order: besides, I do not find any but the chief had gone so far, the rest not having come in at all. It is alleged, that the execution was from private malice; but none could ever yet have the face to charge his majesty with that; and I could never hear of any reason given why the commanders of the forces should have any, much less those at whom the scandal of it was pointed, upon pretence of giving unwarrantable orders. But the case chiefly lies here. The men fell under the misfortune of a crisis in war; they brought themselves into it by an omission of time; to say they could not avoid it does not reach the case. If the officers can be charged with any private revenge, I have only this to say,—1. I never yet saw any reason to think so. No personal grudge or quarrel ever appeared, that I ever met with, or was so much as alleged in it, or gain pretended to be made by it. If the Earl of B——* had any private game, it neither affected the king, nor the other persons charged with the thing. 2. If it was so, it no way affects the king, against whom the reproach of this affair is since pointed, who acted nothing but what was agreeable to the laws of war, and mixed it with that general blessing of his temper, an unusual clemency. If the commission given was executed with barbarity and blood, killing people in what we call cold blood, surprising them in peace and dependance on safety, all this will turn upon the merits of the first cause; for, if they were by the laws of war to be destroyed, all manner of surprises became justified by the same law. As to the cruelties and excesses of the furious soldiers, no man can have the face to charge his majesty with that.

"The grand question remains yet behind. Why did not the king cause the offenders to be made examples, and severely punish the murderers? I shall answer: 1. If his majesty's peculiarity was too much clemency, I think some of those who make the loudest exclamations on this article ought to be silent; since, had exemplary justice been his majesty's employment from his first landing, we should have no reason to have said it was a bloodless Revolution, nor they perhaps have been alive to complain. 2. For the reasons aforesaid, his majesty often said, it was a moot point in war, whether they had broken orders or no; and though I have the honour to know that his majesty exceedingly resented the manner, yet it did not appear at all that they had laid themselves open to military justice in it, or so much as given ground to call them to account before a council of war. As to national or civil justice, the memory of the king can never be reflected upon in that, unless some persons had pursued them at law, obtained sentence against them, and his majesty had protected them from the prosecution or execution of such sentences.

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* Lord Breadalbane.

"Thus far, I think, the king himself is entirely clear in this matter, who else may have been guilty, and how, either of breaking orders, going beyond them in niceties, and executing them with barbarities, I have no occasion to enter upon here. I shall be far from defending such things, and I am sure his majesty was far from approving it. But this is more completely answered by putting the world in mind, that his majesty did refer the prosecution of that affair wholly to the parliament, as more particularly appears by the parliament's address of thanks to his majesty for so doing. And that in their prosecution they found no room for legal process, except against the officer who executed the orders in a manner so barbarous, which officer fled from justice, and was proscribed for not appearing. So that here was no legal process interrupted, but all was frankly remitted by his majesty to the severest methods of justice, which if it would not reach the persons concerned, it is very hard the slander should reach the king.

"It might be said here, you have no occasion to defend the king's memory in this case, since the parliament of Scotland cleared his majesty by their unanimous vote of the 14th of June, viz. 'That his majesty's instructions contained no warrant for the execution of the Glenco men.' I shall only observe, that it is true the parliament passed such a vote, and it is as true, the king resented very ill their usage of him, as he had great reason to do; frequently repeating, that he thanked the parliament of Scotland, they had used him better than England had done his grandfather, for they had tried him for his life, and brought him in *not guilty*. I must confess it was very unaccountable that the House should pass such a vote upon their sovereign, whom no man had the impudence to own a reflection upon in the case, though they did it clandestinely; and it had much better have become them to have searched after and punished those that slandered the king on that account. But the reproaching the king, and those employed by him, and who under him, gave orders in it, had its party uses. What end it answered at that time is very well known, and would make a very good history, to the reproach of some pretenders to revolution principles; but I choose to bury these things in silence, neither are they any part of this design."*

De Foe wrote largely upon the subject in his *Review*, and thus concludes his observations: "None are so forward to clamour at the cruelty of Glenco, as those very men who have escaped justice in Scotland and in England, for the far more barbarous massacres, and cold-blooded executions practised upon innocent subjects in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and who by revolution mercy, and the clemency of this very prince, live now to upbraid him, and who deserve much more to be brought to justice than any of the people concerned in the affair of Glenco, though they were every way as guilty as these people suggest. As the king was no further concerned in this, than as being the original of every commission given out to execute common and necessary justice, he, or any other prince may, when abused, incur the blame of other men's actions; so they that take advantage of it, would do well to reflect on this circumstance which I undertake to make good: that there are no other arguments to clear up the reputation of King Charles I., from being guilty of the Irish massacre, than what will hold good to clear up the innocence of King William in the affair of Glenco; and when they will answer for one, I'll answer for the other."†

It is to be lamented, that the investigation of facts which have nothing to do with those grand political questions that divide men into parties, should be so conducted as to serve the purposes of faction rather than of truth. The inveteracy that marked the language of the Jacobites when speaking of King William, and with which their works are so highly seasoned, has descended in full force to our own day, being countenanced by writers who vie with them in their vituperations of a reign, to which the English nation owes every thing in the shape of liberty. With the ascendancy of Tory principles during the latter half of the last century, there has arisen a corresponding sympathy for the Stuarts, and a desire to blacken the Revolution by the revival and perversion of every circumstance in the history of the period, that can be converted into a ground of odium against its hero. Although the writers who use our history for so vile a purpose, make large professions of their loyalty, they possess but slender claims to patriotism; and whatever may be their liking for the reigning dynasty, which owes its possession of the throne to the Revolution, their conversion of history to the support of Jacobitism and high-church principles, shows but an indifferent attachment to the constitution, which owes its being to that glorious event. This disposition to exalt the Stuarts and the panders to their tyranny, at the expense of King William, is as worthless in principle, as it is futile for any practical purpose. The time is gone by for the revival of their political maxims; and their actions are stamped too indelibly upon the page of history, to be eradicated by the dexterous white-washing of their modern apologists. Those who are desirous of acquainting themselves further with the affair of Glenco, may have recourse to the histories of the times. Dr. Somerville, in particular, has investigated the subject with great candour and judgment, in his History of King William, in which he has made considerable use of De Foe.

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* De Foe's Hist. of the Union, p. 68—73. 4to. ed.

† Review iv., 160.

CHAPTER XVII.

De Foe publishes his Essay upon Projects.—Dedicates it to Dalby Thomas.—His Scheme for a National Bank.—For Improving the Roads.—For a Commission of Bankruptcy.—For a Court-Merchant.—For Friendly Societies.—He originates Savings'-Banks.—Asylum for Idiots.—Academy for the English Language.—Swift's Project of the same kind.—De Foe's Remarks upon the profane Custom of Swearing.—Academies for Military Studies.—Office for registering Seamen.—Institution for the Education of Females.—His Remarks upon the Female Character.—Neglect of Education under the Stuarts.—Character of De Foe's Work.—Of Use to Franklin.—De Foe's other Projects.—Title of the Second Edition.

1696—7.

THE reign of King William, owing partly to the long war with France, and partly to political causes, was eminently an age of inventions; or as De Foe calls it, by way of distinction, "The Projecting Age." Towards the close of the war, in January 1696-7, he presented the public with the result of the schemes which he had formed during its progress, under the title of "An Essay upon Projects. Lond. printed by R. R., for Thomas Cockeril, (K) at the corner

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(K) "Mr. Thomas Cockeril, senior. He was always up to the ears among great persons and business, yet I'll do my rival that justice to say, he was a very religious charitable man. The printing the Morning Exercise, and Charnock's works, brought him into great credit. He was a member of Dr. Annesley's church for many years, and was his true and generous friend to the day of his death. Mr. Nathaniel Taylor was his particular friend, and preached his funeral sermon, in which he gave him an extraordinary character. His kinsman, Mr. Thomas Cockeril, is a living transcript of his uncle's virtues and public spirit."—*Dunton's Life and Errors*, p. 290.

of Warwick Lane, near Paternoster Row, 1697." 8vo, pp. 350. The work was dedicated to his friend, Dalby Thomas, before mentioned; " Not," says he, " as commissioner under whom I have the honour to serve his majesty, nor as a friend, though I have great obligations of that sort also; but as the most proper judge of the subjects treated of, and more capable than the greatest part of mankind to distinguish and understand them." Concerning the subjects themselves, he says, they are [" the results of particular thoughts occasioned by conversing with the public affairs during the present war with France.] The losses and casualties which attend all trading nations in the world, when involved in so cruel a war as this, have reached us all; and I am none of the least of the sufferers. If this has put me as well as others, on inventions and projects, so much the subject of this book, it is no other than a proof of the reason I give for the general projecting humour of the nation."

The projects of our author may be classed under the heads of politics, commerce, and benevolence; all having some reference to the public improvement. Upon each of these he has many shrewd and sagacious remarks, which may be perused with advantage in the present day.

The first relates to banks in general, and to the royal or national bank in particular; which he wishes to be rendered subservient to the relief of the merchant and the interests of commerce, as well as to the purposes of the state. In order to this, he proposes to raise the capital-stock at once to five millions, and to lower the rate of interest to four per cent.; by which scheme he contemplates the overthrow of " that griping race," the money lenders, " who thrive upon the necessities of their fellow-citizens." For conducting the business of a bank upon the extensive scale proposed, he suggests the dividing it into different departments, each under a distinct management; as an office for loans to merchants upon security of their goods, one for discounting bills, another for advancing money upon mortgages, and so on. He also recommends the establishment of country banks in central situations, either in connection with the national bank, or in trust to the corporations of the towns where they shall be settled; the business to be managed by a court of directors, chosen out of the body of subscribers, the mayor of the town being always one. These banks he wishes to see established upon such a scale as to be rendered useful to private traders by temporary advances of money, upon sufficient security.

De Foe's next project relates to the highways, and contains some judicious remarks upon the improvement of the public roads, combining effect with durability. For this, the magnificent works bequeathed to us by the Romans furnish an excellent pattern, and are their best legacy. De Foe adjusts with minuteness the proper width for roads, the materials of which they should be composed, the mode of their construction, and the ways and means for payment of the labourers. Since he wrote, and especially in our own day, the art of road-making has been brought to great perfection, and has added much to the comfort as well as the expedition of travelling.

In the number of his schemes for the benefit of trade, he recommends the appointment of a commission of enquiry into bankrupts' estates, so as to mitigate the severity of the law, and at the same time to protect the honest and industrious against the intrigues and villanies of the fraudulent. In exposing their dishonest practices, he says, "These are tricks I can give too good an account of, having more than once suffered by the experiment." But whilst he called for the indignation of the law against practised knavery, he was desirous that it should hold out the shield of protection to honest misfortune. He hated revenge, and interposed his kind offices to counteract it in others. (L) In order to facilitate the accommodation of disputes between traders, our author proposes the establishment of a court-merchant; because, as such persons were supposed to understand the terms in usage amongst themselves better than the lawyers, so they were more competent to the settlement of their own differences. For their further protection from losses at sea, and imposition at home, he suggests the institution of insurance-offices, the benefit of which he was for extending to cases of risk in general. Succeeding times have given birth to institutions of a similar nature in endless variety, and are so many symptoms of the increasing wealth and prosperity of the country.

De Foe advocated the plan of friendly societies, formed by mutual assurance, for the relief of the members in seasons of distress. By way of experiment, he proposes to establish one for the assistance of seamen, and another for the support of destitute widows. "The same thought," says he, might be improved into methods that should prevent the general misery and poverty of mankind, and at once secure us against beggars, parish-poor, alms-houses, and hospitals; by which not a creature so miserable or so poor, but should claim subsistence as their due, and not ask it of charity." His proposal of a pension-office in every county, for the reception of deposits from the poor, for their relief in sickness and old-age, is an admirable scheme for the prevention

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(L) "I remember," says he, "the answer a person gave me, who had taken out statutes against several, and some his near relations, who had failed in his debt; and when I was one time dissuading him from prosecuting a man who owed me money as well as him, I used this argument with him: you know the man has nothing left to pay. That's true, says he, I know that well enough. To what purpose then, said I, will you prosecute him? Why, revenge is sweet, said he. Now, a man that will prosecute a debtor, not as a debtor, but by way of revenge, such a man is, I think, not intentionally within the benefit of our law."—*Essay upon Projects*, p. 205.

of poverty, and in some of its regulations, an anticipation of the modern institution of savings'-banks. His remarks upon the subject are most appropriate. "Want of consideration," says he, "is the great reason why people do not provide in their youth and strength for old-age and sickness; and the ensuing proposal is in short only this: that all persons in the time of their health and youth, while they are able to work and spare it, should lay up some small inconsiderable part of their earnings as a deposit in safe hands, to lie as a store in bank to relieve them, if by age or accident they come to be disabled or incapable to provide for themselves; and that if God so bless them, that neither they nor theirs come to need it, the overplus may be employed to relieve such as shall." (M)

The benevolent feelings of our author led him to project an establishment for "fools," or more properly "naturals," whom he describes as "a particular rent-charge on the great family of mankind," and expected by proper discipline to restore to society. "If we allow any religion," says he, "and a divine supreme power, whose influence works invisibly on the hearts of men, as he must be worse than the people we talk of who denies it, we must allow at the same time, that power can restore the reasoning faculty to an idiot; and it is our part to use the proper means of supplicating heaven for that end, leaving the disposing part to the issue of unalterable Providence. The wisdom of Providence has not left us without examples of some of the most stupid natural idiots in the world, who have been restored to their reason,

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(M) Writing to his friend Dalby Thomas, De Foe says, "What is said of friendly societies, I think no man will dispute with me, since we have met with so much success already in the practice of it: I mean the Friendly Society for Widows, of which you have been pleased to be a governor." And, "The proposal of the Pension Office you will soon see offered to the public, as an attempt for the relief of the poor, which, if it meets with encouragement, will every way answer all the great things I have said of it."

or, as one would think, had reason infused after a long life of idiotism; perhaps, among other wise ends, to confute that sordid supposition,—that idiots have no souls.

In the true spirit of improvement, our author suggests the formation of academies to supply some neglected branches of education. One of these was for the improvement of the English tongue, an idea that had been formerly taken up by the French, and improved by them with so much success, that their language was spoken in all the courts of Christendom.(N) "I had the honour once," says De Foe, "to be a member of a small society who seemed to offer at this noble design in England; but the greatness of the work, and the modesty of the gentlemen concerned, prevailed with them to desist in an enterprize which appeared too great for private hands to undertake." He proposes that the King of England should become the founder of such an institution, by which he would have an opportunity of eclipsing the French monarch at home, as much as he had done abroad in the field of victory. "The work of this society," says he, "should be to encourage polite learning, to polish and refine the English tongue, and advance the so much neglected faculty of correct language: also, to establish purity and propriety of style, and to purge it from all the irregular additions that ignorance and affectation have introduced; and all those innovations of speech, if I may call them such, which some dogmatic writers have the confidence to foster upon their native language, as if their authority were sufficient to make their own fancy legitimate."

A similar idea was started in the reign of Charles II., by

(N) The Academy here alluded to, was instituted in 1635, by Cardinal Richlieu. Its object was to perfect the French language, and it comprehended every thing relating to grammar, poetry, and eloquence. It consisted of fifty members, and had a director and chancellor, chosen by ballot every three months; and a perpetual secretary. A gold medal was given once a year, as a prize for poetry and eloquence.

Lord Roscommon, who had the assistance of Dryden; but he did not live to bring his plan to any degree of maturity.* Some years after it was revived by De Foe, Prior renewed it in his *carmen seculare,* a poem addressed to King William, who was too deeply immersed in foreign politics to give it his attention. In the reign of Queen Anne, it was renewed by Swift, in his "Letter to the Earl of Oxford for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language. 1711." Writing to the Archbishop of Dublin, he says "I have been engaging my lord treasurer, and the other great men, in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, especially his lordship. He is to erect some kind of society or academy, under the patronage of the ministers, and protection of the queen, for correcting, enlarging, polishing, and fixing our language." In this project, Swift had the co-operation of Bolingbroke, Berkley, and other great men of the day; but the hands of the ministers were then too fully employed to attend to it, and the subsequent changes prevented its final accomplishment.† Since that time, the scheme has been dormant, and Johnson was doubtful how far, in the event of its revival, it would be attended with success.‡ It has succeeded, however, both in France and Italy, nor does there seem to be any valid reason why an academy for literature should not succeed equally well in our own country.

De Foe concludes his observations opon the English language, with some judicious remarks upon the absurd and unprofitable vice of swearing, the correction of which he proposes for one of the objects of his academy. "I place it here," says he, "because custom has so far prevailed in this foolish vice, that a man's discourse is hardly agreeable without it;" and he justly observes, that if custom is to be allowed an authority in the use of words, reason must be a judge of their sense; and this is against it. The following passage is an appropriate censure of the practice: "Men steal for gain, and murther to gratify their avarice or revenge; and, generally all vices have some previous cause, some visible tendency; but this of all vicious practices, seems the most nonsensical and ridiculous. There is neither pleasure nor profit; no design pursued, no lust gratified; but it is a mere frenzy of the tongue, a vomit of the brain, which works by putting a contradiction upon the course of nature." Acts of Parliament and proclamations he considers to have but little influence in suppressing the practice. "Example, not penalties," says he, "must sink this crime: and if the gentlemen of England would but drop it, the vice is so foolish and ridiculous in itself, it would soon grow odious and out of fashion. I shall make no apology," observes De Foe, "for venturing to reform the vicious custom of swearing; for no man ought to be ashamed of exposing what all men ought to be ashamed of practicing."

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* Biog. Brit. Art. Dillon.

† Sheridan's Life of Swift, p. 74, 82.

‡ Johnson's Life of Roscommon.

The next project of our author, and one that he esteemed the most noble and useful in his book, was an academy for military studies. "Men," says he, "are not born with muskets on their shoulders, nor fortification in their heads; neither is it natural to shoot bombs and undermine towns." As long as nations continue the practice of war, they should be prepared to enter upon it with effect; for which purpose, he argues, the people should be trained to it in time of peace. He fixes upon Chelsea College as a suitable situation for his academy, of which the king was to be the founder, the charge to be paid by the public, out of the annual revenue granted to the crown. Our author then enumerates the proper studies for his college, and recommends the hours of recreation to be filled up by manly exercises. As a substitute for effeminate amusements, he urges upon youth, in general, the practice of shooting at a mark, and of swimming, as not only conducive to health, but embracing other objects of utility.

Similar in design to this military academy, was a project for the registry of seamen; in order that the king might always have a body of men fit for service, without resorting to the violent and ungracious method of impressment. This last scheme was carried into effect soon afterwards, by a statute for the registry of thirty thousand seamen, with great privileges, and with heavy penalties for non-appearance;[*] but being judged ineffectual as well as oppressive, it was abolished in the following reign.[†] The realization of our author's military project was reserved for our own day.

Under the head of Academies, De Foe suggests an institution for the education of females. "We reproach the sex every day," says he, "with folly and impertinence, while I am confident, had they the advantages of education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than ourselves." He complains that the females of his time were taught merely the mechanical parts of knowledge, such as reading, writing, and sewing, instead of being exalted into rational companions; and he argues, that men in the same class of society would cut a poor figure, if their education were to be equally neglected. "The soul," he observes, "was placed in the body like a rough diamond, and must be polished, or the lustre of it will never appear. And it is manifest, that as the rational soul distinguishes us from brutes, so education carries on the distinction, and makes some less brutish than others. Why then should women be denied the benefit of instruction? If knowledge and understanding had been useless additions to the sex, God would never have given them capacities; for he made nothing needless. Besides, I would ask such, what they can see in ignorance, that they should think it a necessary ornament in a woman? or, what has woman done to forfeit the privilege of being taught? Does she plague us with her pride and impertinence? Why do we not let her learn, that she may have more wit? Shall we upbraid woman with folly, when it is only the error of this inhuman custom that hinders her being made wiser. The capacities of women are supposed to be greater, and their senses quicker than those of the men;" and that they are capable of emulating them, he tells us, "might be proved by some examples in his own day." With so high an opinion of the female character, it is no wonder that he exclaims, "I cannot think that God ever made them so delicate, so glorious creatures, and furnished them with such charms, so agreeable and so delightful to mankind, with souls capable of the same enjoyments as men, and all to be only stewards of our houses, cooks, and slaves."

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[*] Stat. 7 and 8, W. III. c. 21.

[†] Stat. 9 Ann. c. 21.

To the foregoing sentiments, as well expressed as they are just and liberal, let us subjoin his glowing description of a well-educated female. "Women, in my observation of them have little or no difference, but as they are, or are not distinguished by education. Tempers, indeed, may in some degree influence them, but the main distinguishing part is their breeding. The whole sex are generally quick and sharp, I believe I may be allowed to say, generally so; for you rarely see them lumpish and heavy when they are children, as boys will often be. If a woman be well bred, and taught the proper management of her natural wit, she proves generally very sensible and retentive: and, without partiality, a woman of sense and manners is the finest and most delicate part of God's creation, the glory of her Maker, and the great instance of his singular regard to man, to whom he gave the best gift either God could bestow, or man receive: and it is the sordidest piece of folly and ingratitude in the world, to withhold from the sex the due lustre which the advantages of education give to the natural beauty of their minds. A woman, well-bred and well-taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature without comparison. Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments; she is all softness and sweetness, love, wit, and delight; she is every way suitable to the sublimest wish; and the man that has such a one to his portion, has nothing to do but to rejoice in her, and be thankful."

The foregoing remarks upon the education of females, are not only in good taste, and dictated by a sound judgment, but argue a degree of refinement in our author, for which, it is probable, the world has not given him sufficient credit. Their propriety at the time they were framed, cannot be doubted; nor will the state of things that occasioned them afford much surprise, when it is considered that the men themselves were but little in advance upon the other sex. Pedantry had been too long substituted for learning, and a false taste had given a reputation to wit, at the expense of more solid attainments. From the days of Henry VIII. to those of Elizabeth, it was not unusual to bestow a learned education upon ladies in high life; and the taste that existed for theological studies, had a tendency to sharpen the appetite for mental improvement. But after the death of that princess, their education became more neglected; and although there still continued some exceptions to the general rule, yet for the most part, an affectation of learning took place of the reality, and exterior accomplishments became more acceptable at court than those sterling qualities which confer true nobility upon the possessor. Education must have been sadly neglected in Shadwell's time, for him to put into the mouth of one of his "gentlemen of wit and sense," such a passage as the following: "What an unfashionable fellow art thou, that in this age art given to understand Latin!"—"'Tis true," is the reply, "I am a bold fellow to pretend to it; when it is accounted pedantry for a gentleman to spell, and when the race of gentlemen is more degenerated than that of horses. If they go on as they begin, the gentlemen of the next age will scarce have learning enough to claim the benefit of the clergy for manslaughter." Thirty years later, one of the questions proposed to John Dunton's Athenian Society, was, "Why is the learning of the tongues in so little repute, and persons so difficultly persuaded to it?"* Since that time, a better taste has prevailed with regard to both sexes; and if the lighter accomplishments still predominate in female education, yet there is now to be found, both in the middle and upper classes, a considerable number of well-educated women, whose intellectual endowments add a grace to their other charms, and render them ornaments to the best cultivated society.

If the preceding account of a work at present but little known, should be considered of an undue length, let it be remembered that the subjects upon which it treats are by no means unimportant, and that the passages extracted from it, throw considerable light both upon the sentiments and character of the author. With regard to its execution, it abounds in strong sense, couched in nervous language, and contains some specimens of good writing. His sentiments upon the various topics discussed are delivered with diffidence, but at the same time with becoming freedom; and they discover a versatility of genius accompanied by correct thinking, that are not often united in the same individual. But of the merit of the performance, there needs no other testimony than that of the late Dr. Franklin, who found it in his father's library, and speaking of it says, "from which, perhaps, I might receive some impressions that have since influenced the principal events of my life."† Besides the projects already detailed, De Foe informs us, that he had written, "a great many sheets about the coin, about bringing in plate to the mint, and about our standard; but so many great heads being upon it, with some of whom his opinions did not agree, he would not adventure to appear in print upon that subject."* His work came to a second edition in 1702; or rather, the bookseller placed a new title-page before the remaining copies of the same impression.(o)

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* Quarterly Review, xxix. 179. † Dodsley's Ann. Reg. xxxvi. 242.

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* Pref. to De Foe's Essay.

(o) It runs as follows: "Essays upon several subjects; or effectual ways for advancing the interest of the nation; wherein are plainly laid down the means by which the subjects in general may be eased and enriched; the poor relieved, and trade increased in the most material branches of it, viz. in constituting seamen to their's and the nation's advantage; for encouragement of merchants and merchandizing; for relief of the poor by friendly societies; for discouraging vice, and encouraging virtue; the usefulness of banks and assurances; to prevent bankrupts, with the surest way to recover bad debts; and many other considerable things, profitable, and conducing to the great advantage of the nation in general. Lond. Printed and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1702."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Rise of the Controversy concerning Occasional Conformity.—Sir Humphrey Edwin carries the City Regalia to Pinners' Hall Meeting-house.—Disapproved by the Dissenters.—Dr. Nichols's Remarks upon it.—Gives rise to several Publications.—Libels upon the Lord Mayor.—Satirized in Swift's Tale of a Tub.—De Foe writes upon the Subject.—Account of his Pamphlet.—Reflections upon the Controversy.

1697.

The controversy concerning occasional conformity, which produced so much noise both in and out of parliament in the following reign, took its rise from an occurrence that happened at this time, trifling and unimportant in itself, but magnified by party violence into an affair of some consequence. As De Foe took a conspicuous part in the controversy, both now and hereafter, it may not be improper to present the reader with some account of the affair alluded to, as introductory to the notice of his publication.

When the Act of Uniformity, which passed shortly after the Restoration of King Charles II., had divided the nation into the two religious parties of Conformists and Non-conformists, it was found that a considerable body of the citizens of London adhered to the latter, and contributed towards the erection of places for worship apart from the establishment. As many of them had acquired fortunes by trade, they naturally took their station in society, and were selected by their fellow-citizens to fill the leading offices in the corporation. Even in the austere reign of Charles II., when injustice was pushed to such an extreme as to compel the citizens to declare, "They could not trade with their neighbours one day, and send them to gaol the next;" at that time, some of them obtained the civic gown, and found their way into parliament. These honours they acquired in greater number in the following reign, it being the policy of King James to raise them into notice, in order to mortify the leaders of the dominant religion. In the year of the Revolution, Sir John Shorter, one of their number, filled the office of chief magistrate; and dying during his mayoralty, his place was supplied by Sir John Eyles, who was of the same religious persuasion. (P) A few years afterwards, the same dignity was conferred upon Sir Humphrey Edwin, also a Presbyterian, who was elected Lord Mayor September 29, 1697, and, with a single exception, filled his situation to the satisfaction of all parties. (Q)

Up to this period, occasional conformity had been practised by Dissenters, who accepted official employments with

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(P) Sir John Shorter came to an untimely death in the following manner. It being customary for the city-magistrates to proclaim Bartholomew Fair, and to call in their way upon the keeper of Newgate, who entertains them with a cool tankard of wine, nutmeg, and sugar, they went this year as usual. Sir John Shorter, it seems, was not sufficiently careful in holding the tankard, so that the lid flapped down with great force, and made so much noise that his horse started, threw him off, and some say, broke his neck. He survived, however, until the following day, dying upon the 4th of September. He was buried upon the 12th, with great funeral pomp, in the parish church of St. Saviour, Southwark.—*Revolution Politics,* part vi. pp. 47—49.

(Q) Shortly after his accession to the mayoralty, the city was honoured with the presence of King William, who, upon his return from abroad, after the treaty of Ryswick, made his public entry into London, November 16, 1697, and was received with great magnificence. The Lord Mayor rode bare-headed before the king's coach, bearing the sword of state, and was followed by an immense assemblage of persons, forming the grandest sight that had been witnessed in the city since the Restoration. There can be little doubt that De Foe was present upon the occasion.—*Oldmixon's England,* iii. 168.

the legal qualification, without much offence to either party. During his mayoralty, Sir Humphrey Edwin vindicated the practice in his own conduct, by attending upon one part of the Sunday at church, and upon the other part at his usual place of worship amongst the Dissenters. His conduct in this respect would, probably, have passed with as little notice as that of his predecessors, had he not, upon one occasion, carried the *regalia* of his office to Pinners' Hall meeting-house. This imprudent step, rendered so by the political situation of the Dissenters, and which the more judicious amongst them by no means approved, raised a very unnecessary clamour in the high-church party, some of whom resented it with vulgar malignity. (R)

But whatever impropriety there was in this proceeding of the Lord Mayor, as creating a needless jealousy at a time when the passions of men were strongly fermented by bigotry; yet, the conduct of his clerical reprovers was equally in bad taste. One of them, a young clergyman from Cambridge, but exalted to the dignity of the scarf, as domestic chaplain to a nobleman, had the honour to preach before the same

(R) Dr. Nichols, in his *Apparat. ad Def. Eccles. Angl.* informed the world, that "To the great reproach of the laws and of the city magistracy, the Lord Mayor carried the sword with him to" what he elegantly terms "a nasty conventicle, which was held in a hall belonging to one of the mean mechanical companies in the city, attended with all the ensigns of the august corporation!" And to add to the offence, he tells us, "The horrid crime was defended by one of his own party, who gave this arrogant reason for it: That by the Act of Toleration lately passed, and by which they were permitted to worship God in their own way, without incurring the penalties of the law, their religion was as much established as ours." Upon this Dr. Calamy remarks, that "many who wished this action had been waved, as tending to enrage, were yet to seek for the horridness of the crime; nor could they see the great arrogance of the plea, when the religion that is owned in churches and meetings is one and the same." The reverend and learned Mr. James Peirce, who answered Dr. Nichols's book in the Latin language, and afterwards translated it into English, has some appropriate remarks upon the subject. See *Calamy's Abridgement*, i. 561; and *Peirce's Vindication*, part i. 276.

Lord Mayor at St. Paul's; when he seized the opportunity to display his ill-timed zeal against the worship of the Nonconformists. For his want of judgment in offering this public affront to a Presbyterian chief magistrate, he met with a proper reproof, in a clever pamphlet which came speedily to a second edition, and is entitled "A Rowland for an Oliver; or a sharp rebuke to a saucy Levite. In answer to a Sermon preached by Edward Oliver, M. A., before Sir Humphrey Edwin, late Lord Mayor of London, at St. Paul's Cathedral, on Sunday, October 22, 1698. By a Lover of Unity."

Whilst indignities were offered to the chief magistrate from the pulpit, by the classical tongues of the clergy, it is no wonder that their example was imitated by the lower orders, who hawked libels upon him about the streets, in the shape of ballads and lampoons. The novel circumstance of his carrying the insignia of office to a "conventicle," was also made the subject of much merriment by the wits of the day. One of them published "A Dialogue betwixt Jack and Will, concerning the Lord Mayor's going to meeting-houses, with the sword carried before him. 1697." 4to. Swift, in his "Tale of a Tub," satirizes the toleration of Dissenters under the notion of Jack's tatters coming into fashion, both in court and city; and the idea of Jack's getting upon a great horse, and eating custard, is intended for Sir Humphrey Edwin, the Presbyterian chief magistrate. In the early edition of that singular book, there is a good graphical illustration of the subject,[*] It may be recollected, that before the invention of the state-coach, it was customary for the Lord Mayor to appear in city processions upon a state horse; also, that custard was a standing dish at a Lord Mayor's feast. To the former of these circumstances De Foe alludes in his poem entitled "Reformation of Manners:"

> "To ride the city horse, and wear the chain."

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[*] Tale of a Tub, sect. xi. p. 233, ed. 5th.

The question arising out of the foregoing circumstance, was treated by De Foe with appropriate gravity. His publication bore the title of "An enquiry into the occasional conformity of Dissenters in cases of Preferment: with a preface to the Lord Mayor, occasioned by his carrying the sword to a conventicle. Lond. Printed Anno Dom. 1697." 4to. pp. 28. In this work, the author appears before us in the character of an acute casuist. Assuming as a principle, that Dissenters in his day continued to separate from the established Church from the same motive that actuated the early Puritans, that is, to obtain a greater purity of worship; he argues that the fast and loose game of religion, which was then played by too many, will not admit of any satisfactory excuse.

"There is a sort of truth," says he, "which all men owe to the principles they profess; and generally speaking, all men pay it. None but Protestants halt between God and Baal; Christians of an amphibious nature, who have such preposterous consciences, that can believe one way of worship to be right, and yet serve God another. He who dissents not from a real principle of conscience, is a political, not a religious dissenter." De Foe justly observes, that when churches are under persecution, then professors are few, and their profession more severe. "But when a religion comes to be the mode of the country, so many painted hypocrites get into the church, who are not by their voices to be distinguished, that guile is not to be seen till it arrives at apostacy. The prosperity of the church of Christ has been more fatal to it than all the persecution of its enemies;" and this he tells us, has occasioned both parties to suffer in their reputation.

The most considerable excuse that he had heard advanced in extenuation of the practice, was, that it is a civil act, and no conformity in point of religion. To which he replies: "'Tis true, the morality of an action consists in its end; but I cannot conceive that actions purely and originally religious, such as the solemn ordinances of God's worship, can be made civil actions by any end or intention of man whatsoever." Besides, "how can you take it as a civil act in one place, and a religious act in another?" This he calls "playing bo-peep with the Almighty." Sacraments, he observes, are religious rites, and can be no other; but to receive the communion of the body and blood of Christ, and call it a civil action, "this is such bantering with religion, as no modest Christian can think of without horror."

Adverting to the pretence advanced by some, that they are serving their country, our author observes, "these are patriots that will damn their souls to serve their country; a sort of public spirit hardly to be found in the world, and indeed, a nonentity in itself. If the service of their country be so dear to them, pray why should they not choose to expose their bodies and estates for that service, rather than their souls; and why should not we be as honest to God as to our country? The motives to serve our country are strong, but there are ways to do it without such a violation of all our principles and professions. The penalty of the law in accepting public employments is wholly pecuniary; but they choose the trespassing on their consciences, before the hazard of their estates. If self-denial was as practicable as self-advancement, there is no need of the crime. In this case, charity can heal nothing; for, 'tis of absolute necessity that a man be of one side or the other, either the Conformist will mar the Dissenter, or the Dissenter will mar the Conformist. But to make the matter a game, to dodge religions, and go in the morning to church, and in the afternoon to the meeting; to communicate in private with the Church of England, to save a penalty, and then go back to the Dissenters, and communicate again there; this is such a retrograde devotion, that I can see no colour of pretence for in all the sacred book."

The foregoing extracts will serve to unfold the opinions of De Foe upon a subject of great temporary interest. Although a strenuous Dissenter, he was by no means anxious to make proselytes at the expence of consistency, which he thought of more consequence to character than any advantages that could be reaped by its compromise. In the present age of religious laxity, some of his ideas will appear stiff and uncompromising; but they are not to be accurately measured by persons who are indifferent to forms of worship, and overlook their civil rights in their zeal for religion. It should be recollected that at the period when our author wrote, the character of dissent assumed a very different appearance to that which it exhibits in our own day. The trading part of the nation was then composed very much of Dissenters, who were numerous in corporations, and comprised in their ranks, many wealthy families of the old gentry, and some peers of the realm. In order to preserve their political importance as a body, it seemed necessary to draw a marked line of distinction between them and their adversaries, and this was furnished by the difference in their ecclesiastical forms, which could be stedfastly maintained without the interruption of social intercourse, or invading the charities of private life. But occasional conformity threatened the dissolution of the body, or at least the loss of the most valuable members, by a gradual transition to full conformity, as was abundantly verified in the next generation. The snares of the world, combined with the power of habit, and the temptation to political aggrandizement, drew away numbers from the profession of their faith, leaving the Dissenters destitute of political importance, and unable any longer to contend for their liberties with any chance of success. Such was the political aspect of a measure so strongly reprobated by De Foe; but he argued it entirely upon religious grounds, which, however important, were of little avail in opposition to secular interests. The controversy did not excite much attention at this time, but was revived a few years afterwards, when De Foe re-published his pamphlet; and it continued to agitate both the parliament and the nation during nearly the whole of the next reign.

CHAPTER XIX.

Peace of Ryswick.—Sentiments of Different Parties upon a Standing Army.—Resolution of Parliament.—Chagrin of the King.—The Subject agitated in print.—Trenchard's Pamphlet.—He is answered by De Foe.—Statement of his Argument.—Remarks upon the Subject.—He publishes another Pamphlet.

1698.

The subject that next employed the pen of De Foe, was one of very considerable importance in a political point of view, and deeply engaged the attention of statesmen, who, influenced by different motives, maintained contradictory opinions upon the subject.

The war which had now lasted so many years, and had exhausted the resources of the belligerents, made them anxious for peace. As the object of it had been in some measure obtained by William, he felt the less disinclined to listen to the proposals of the French king, who having consented to relinquish the cause of James, and to acknowledge his title to the British crown, a treaty of peace was finally concluded between them, and signed at Ryswick, the 20th of September, 1697.

It was now a serious question with politicians, what was to be done with the army upon its return to England? A strong feeling pervaded the nation against the maintenance of a standing army; and the antipathy was loudly expressed both in and out of parliament. Upon this, as well as upon most other questions of national policy, men were actuated by different motives; some originating in patriotic feelings, and others in the spirit of party. Those who had been nursed in the cradle of liberty, and dreaded any encroachments from the royal prerogative, objected to the principle, as an intimidation to the expression of popular feeling, and the first step to the overthrow of public liberty; and they supported their arguments by a reference to former periods of our history. In lieu of a standing army, they proposed that the militia should be re-modelled and improved. As these persons had opposed the encroachments of the royal power in the preceding reigns, as well as the doctrines that were propagated for its support in this, they are intitled to the character of consistent patriots; and, if they erred at this time, it was in advocating a general principle, without adverting sufficiently to those cases which might form a proper exception to it.

But there was another party that took the same course, and may be supposed to have acted with motives less pure, because less consistent. This comprised the friends of the exiled king, whom they wished to see restored; and as the disbanding of the army would materially weaken the existing government, these persons very justly thought that it would be a most important step towards the accomplishment of their object. The thin veil that concealed their hypocrisy, was easily penetrated by the friends of the king; for as they had been at the bottom of the worst measures of the Charles's and James's, their appearing for liberty at this time, was like Satan transforming himself into an angel of light. The courtly principles of the Tories had led them, when in power, to sanction the most obnoxious acts of the prerogative, and to trample, without mercy, upon the liberties of the people; so that their opposition to the court in the affair of the army, could be construed into no other motive than ill-will, and a desire to embarrass the public measures, so as to facilitate their re-admission to office. (s)

The situation of England at this time seemed to demand a larger disposable force than the nation had been accustomed to in time of peace. But independently of this circumstance, the military habits of the king, and the station to which his character and talents had raised him, as the protector of the liberties of Europe, had strongly attached him to his companions in arms, and made him reluctant to part with the men who had contributed so much to his personal glory, and to the security of his throne. It was with feelings of deep chagrin, that he saw the current of opinion against him, viewing it as not only dangerous to the repose of England, but fatal to his authority, and to the influence which he had acquired amongst the princes of Europe. The Whigs were divided in their opinions. Those who opposed the reduction of the army, were either the confidential friends of the king, or such as considered it fruitful in danger to the new government; more particularly as there was a pretender to the throne, and a neighbouring power ready to take advantage of any opportunities that might offer to assist his pretensions.

In compliance with the popular opinion, William began to disband his forces, sending home the foreign troops, and ordering others to Ireland. But perceiving that the French king was slow in executing the late treaty, and had not commenced the reduction of his army, he thought it necessary to pause before he proceeded any further. In his speech to the parliament at the opening of the session, December 3, 1697, he expressed his opinion, that in the present posture of affairs, England could not be safe without a land-force. This sentiment was but ill received by the Commons, who, carrying the jealousy of an army much higher than usual, came to the resolution of paying off and disbanding all the forces that had been raised since the year 1680. By this sweeping vote, the army was reduced at once to below seven thousand men, or about one third of its previous number. Burnet says, "This gave the king the greatest distaste of any thing that had befallen him in his whole reign. He thought it would derogate much from him, and render his alliance so inconsiderable, that he doubted whether he could carry on the government, after it should be reduced to so weak and so contemptible a state. He said, that if he could have imagined, that after all the services he had done the nation, he should have met with such returns, he would never have meddled with our affairs; and that he was weary of governing a nation that was so jealous as to lay itself open to an enemy, rather than trust him who had acted so faithfully during his whole life, that he had never once deceived those who trusted him."*

(s) In the former reign, many of them were willing enough to vote a large army, although the use the king intended to make with it was sufficiently notorious. When the subject was debated in the House of Commons, Sir Christopher Musgrave observed, "It was a deplorable thing that the king should have no better an army than nineteen or twenty thousand men." But Sir Christopher and his party were now in opposition to the government, and they were willing to be thought patriots. *Secret Hist. of Europe*, ii. 134.

Whilst the subject was agitated in parliament, the press was equally active; and both parties produced pamphlets in abundance. One of the earliest in the debate was the production of Mr. Trenchard, and intitled, "An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a free government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. London, printed in the year 1697." The talent and information displayed in this performance, the spirit of the writer, and his ardent zeal for liberty, combined with a warm attachment to the constitution, produced a great impression upon the public mind, and brought upon him a host of opponents. One of the most distinguished was Lord Somers, upon whose genius and eloquence the king greatly depended; but the tide of public opinion ran so strongly against him, that the efforts of his ablest advocates were unable to stop its course.

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* Burnet's Own Time, iii. 285, 6.

Amongst the writers drawn out by Trenchard's pamphlet, was De Foe, who appeared as a sort of moderator in the controversy. His work is intitled, "An Argument shewing that a Standing Army, with consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a Free Government, &c. 2 Chron. ix., 25. London, printed for E. Whitlock, near Stationer's Hall, 1698." 4to. pp. 26. The line of argument pursued by him is as follows:

"The present pen and ink war raised against a Standing Army, has more ill consequences in it than are at first sight to be discerned. The pretence is specious, and the cry of liberty is very pleasing, but the principle is mortally contagious, and destructive of the essential safety of the kingdom. Liberty and property are the glorious attributes of the English nation, and the dearer they are to us, the less danger there is of losing them; but I could never yet see it proved, that the danger of losing them by a small army, was such as we should expose ourselves to all the world for it. Some people talk so big of our own strength, that they think England able to defend itself against all the world. I presume such talk without book: I think the prudentest course is to prevent the trial; and that is only to hold the balance of Europe as the king now does, and if there be a war to keep it abroad. How these gentlemen will do that with a militia, I should be glad to see proposed. 'Tis not the king of England alone, but the sword of England in the hand of the king, that gives laws of peace and war now to Europe: and those who would thus write the sword out of his hand in time of peace, bid the fairest of any men in the world to renew the war."

Our author expresses his opinion, that in the course of the controversy, both parties had run into extremes. "Some," says he, "have taken up such terrible notions of an army, as if it were to enslave us; and if they do not do it now, they may do it in another reign; therefore, the risk is not to be run." Upon the other hand, "the advocates for a standing army seem to make light of all these fears and jealousies, and plead the circumstances of the kingdom with relation to our leagues and confederacies abroad, the strength of our neighbours, a pretender to the crown, the uncertainty of leagues, and the like, as arguments to prove an army necessary. I must own these are no arguments any longer than those circumstances continue, and therefore can amount to no more than the necessity of an army for a time, which time no one has ventured to assign."

In order to find out "the safe medium," he says, "we are to distinguish between England formerly, and England now; between a standing army able to enslave the nation, and a certain body of forces enough to make us safe." He then argues upon the existing posture of affairs, which rendered it indispensibly necessary to enter into foreign alliances as a counterpoise to the overgrown power of France. In case of a rupture, he maintains the policy of carrying the war into the enemy's country, and says, "this cannot be done without a body of troops always at hand to send to the assistance of our confederates; a line of policy that would exalt the reputation of England, and secure her against the chances of invasion."

That an army in the abstract is not unconstitutional, he argues from the Claim of Right, sworn to by the king, as the *Pacta Conventa* of the kingdom; in which it is declared, "that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be by consent of parliament, is against law." "This," observes De Foe, "plainly lays the whole stress of the thing, not against the thing itself,—a standing army, nor against the season,—a time of peace; but against the circumstance,—consent of parliament: and I think nothing is more rational than to conclude from thence, that a standing army in time of peace, with consent of parliament, is not against law, neither inconsistent with a free government, nor destructive of the English monarchy."

Having disposed of the principle, he proceeds to consider the *quantum sufficet;* and this he very properly leaves to the wisdom of parliament, "the best composed house that, perhaps, ever entered within those walls." Against the danger that may be supposed to arise from a small standing army, our author places the national militia, which might be rendered as effective as possible; also, the sole authority of parliament over the public purse, which enabled it to disband the army at any time by stopping the pay: for no king ever attempted to touch the purse, but he found his ruin in it." "Nor is a military tyranny practicable in England, if we consider the power the laws have given to the civil magistrate, unless you at the same time imagine that army large enough to subdue the whole English nation at once; which, if it can be effected by such an army as the parliament seem now inclined to permit, we are in a very mean condition."

Upon the whole, De Foe does not seem to have been much dissatisfied with the issue of the business: for he says, "the parliament, we see, needs no instructions in this matter, and therefore are providing to reduce the forces to the same *quota* they were in before 1680, by which means all the fear of invading our liberties will be at an end; and yet the king will always have a force at hand to assist his neighbours, or defend himself till more can be raised."

In the course of the discussion, De Foe illustrates his subject by a reference to former periods of our history. Of the ability which he brings to it, no one can entertain a doubt who peruses his pamphlet, which is as much distinguished for purity of language, as for skilfulness of argument. From the preceding extracts it will be seen, that those persons who suppose him to be the unqualified supporter of a standing army, have formed a wrong estimate of his opinions. All that he contended for was this: that in the peculiar circumstances of the country, with a government that could scarcely be said to be established, and with a pretender to the throne whose claims were acknowledged by a large class of disaffected persons at home, acting in concert with a powerful neighbour, it was necessary for the security of liberty, and of a Protestant dynasty, to maintain a limited number of forces under the control of parliament, trained according to the modern method of warfare, and ready to take the field at a moment's notice. The motives that induced him to take this line of argument, were further strengthened by an intimate knowledge of the virtues of the monarch, whose disposition was too clearly allied to a love of liberty, to admit the suspicion that he would abuse the trust reposed in him for any unworthy purpose.

The principle of a standing army ought, indeed, to be admitted with extreme jealousy, by a free people; and the present writer would rejoice to see the day when so expensive an appendage to monarchy might be safely dispensed with; when nations shall cease to gratify the ferocious passions that hurry them on to the destruction of their species, and shall be so far alive to their true interest as to render a government by force unnecessary. But, before these happy results can be expected, governments must be assimilated, both in constitution and practice, to the real purposes of their institution, and disencumbered of those appendages which are not essential to a sound administration of their functions. The people, also must feel an interest in their preservation; in order to which, the public treasure must be faithfully applied to national objects, and the constitution thrown open indifferently to all parties, without respect to their political or religious opinions. When there are such materials for a sympathy between the people and their government, they afford a better security than standing armies, which may be dispensed with as an incumbrance.

Another pamphlet in the controversy, in opposition to Trenchard, and which has been sometimes given to De Foe, is intitled, " Some Reflections on a Pamphlet lately published, intitled, 'An Argument, shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, and absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy.' London: printed for E. Whitlock, near Stationers' Hall. 1697." 4to. pp. 28. The ground upon which this work has been attributed to our author, is the signature D. F. at the end of the preface. So it stands in the second edition. In the first, it is D. T., but in all the copies I have seen, the T is altered to an F, which is probably the true initial. In the title page of one of my copies, there is the following memorandum in an old hand-writing: " By Daniel De Foe." This differs from the undoubted work of De Foe, inasmuch as that is a cool and dispassionate survey of the argument without any reference to the author who raised it; and this, a direct attack upon Trenchard's pamphlet, with a view to destroy his reasoning, and impeach his motives. The author is evidently a warm admirer of King William; but is desirous of leaving the matter in the hands of parliament, as the most competent authority to decide upon its merits. The running title of the work is " Reflections on a late Scandalous Pamphlet, intitled, An Argument, &c." Supposing that De Foe wrote more than once in the controversy, as was the case with Trenchard, it is not improbable that this may be one of his pamphlets.

CHAPTER XX.

Dissolute Morals of the Nation.—Discountenanced by the Court—And the Parliament.—Royal Proclamation upon the Subject.—Tennison's Instructions to the Clergy.—De Foe publishes his Poor-Man's Plea.—Account of that Work.—His Rebuke to the Magistrates—And the Clergy.—Anecdote of Captain Vratz.—Irreligion of the Clergy represented by another Writer.—De Foe's Zeal for Reformation.—Traduced by his Enemies.—His Work commended in the Pulpit.—Bad Effects of the Stage.—Collier's Attack upon it.—King William's Order upon the subject.—Rise of the Societies for Reformation of Manners.—De Foe's Account of their Success.—His Zeal for the Observance of the Sabbath.—Account of the Book of Sports.—Bigotry of Archbishop Sharp.—Publications in Behalf of the Reformation Societies.

1698.

From the discussion of politics, De Foe made an easy transition to reformation of manners; for such was the versatility of his genius, and the correctness of his judgment, that he could write equally well upon either subject.

The depravation of morals that followed upon the Restoration had so thoroughly infected all classes of the community, that those who pretended to any decency of conduct were set down for precisians, and unfit for society. From being the result of fashion, which copied closely the pattern of the court, the grossest vices became ingrafted as it were upon the habits of life, and produced a total change in the national character. A near observer of those times, who was no puritan, has left the following unfavourable picture of them: "Immediately after the Restoration, the people, intoxicated with the pleasures of peace, and influenced by the example of a loose court, as well as from their great aversion to the former fanatical strictness, and severity of conversation, which they detested as hypocrisy, indulged themselves in sensual liberties, and by degrees sunk deep into luxury and vice. Then it was that some irreligious men, taking advantage of this growing dissoluteness of manners, began to propagate their detestable notions, and sow the seeds of profaneness and impiety, which sprung up apace, and flourished in proportion to the growth of immorality. Thus, vice and irreligion mutually assisting each other, extended their power by daily encroachments; and the solid temper and firmness of mind which the people once possessed, being slackened and dissolved by the power of riot and forbidden pleasure, their judgment soon became vitiated; which corruption of taste has ever since gradually increased, as the confederate powers of vice and profaneness have spread their infection, and gained upon religion."*

To stem the force of this overwhelming torrent was reserved for King William, and it may be justly regarded as one of the benefits that flowed from the Revolution. De Foe, after noticing the encouragement that had been given to all manner of debauchery in a former reign, demonstrating "how far the influence of governors extends in the practice of the people," says, "the present king, and his late queen, whose glorious memory will be dear to the nation as long as the world stands, have had all this wicked knot to unravel. This was the first thing the queen set upon while the king was engaged in his wars abroad. She first gave all sorts of vice a general discouragement, and raised the value of virtue and sobriety by her royal example. The king having brought the war to a glorious conclusion, and settled an honourable peace, in his very first speech to his parliament, proclaims a new war against profaneness and immorality, and goes on also to discourage the practice of it by his royal example. Thus, the work is begun nobly and regularly; and the parliament, the general representative of the nation, follows this royal example, in enacting laws to suppress all manner of profaneness."*

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* Blackmore's Creation, *Pref.*

The passage in the king's speech just alluded to is as follows: "I esteem it one of the greatest advantages of the peace, that I shall now have leisure to rectify such corruptions or abuses as may have crept into any part of the administration during the war, and effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality." The Commons, in their address to the king sometime afterwards, notice these sentiments with appropriate satisfaction, declaring their readiness to support him; and "in concurrence with his majesty's pious intentions, they most humbly desired, that his majesty would issue out his royal proclamation, commanding all judges, justices of the peace, and other magistrates, to put in speedy execution the good laws that were now in force against profaneness and immorality, giving encouragement to all such as did their duty therein. And since the examples of men in high and public stations have a powerful influence upon the lives of others, they most humbly besought his majesty, that all vice, profaneness, and irreligion might, in a particular manner, be discouraged in all those who had the honour to be employed near his royal person, and in all others who were in his majesty's service, by sea or land; and that his majesty would, upon all occasions, distinguish piety and virtue by marks of his favour." The king in reply said, that "he could not but be very well pleased with an address of this nature, and he would give immediate directions in the several particulars they desired." A proclamation was accordingly issued for preventing and punishing the crimes specified; and the parliament passed a bill to the

* Poor Man's Plea, p. 5, 6.

same effect.* As it would have been unseemly for the church to be silent upon such an occasion, Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, drew up some excellent rules for the government of the clergy, which he communicated in a circular letter to the bishops of his province.†

De Foe, who was ever on the alert when any great question came before the public, could not forego so favourable an opportunity of expressing his opinion as to where the Reformation should begin, in order to ensure its success. He accordingly published "The Poor Man's Plea, in relation to all the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c., which have been, or shall be made, or published, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the nation. London: printed in the year 1698." 4to. pp. 31.

"In searching for the proper cure of an epidemic disease," says our author, "physicians tell us, it is first necessary to know the cause. Immorality is without doubt the present reigning distemper of the nation; and the king and parliament, who are indeed the proper physicians, seem nobly inclined to undertake the cure. But, as a person under the violence of a disease, sends in vain for a physician, unless he resolves to make use of his prescription, so in vain does the king attempt to reform a nation, unless they are willing to reform themselves." After noticing with due commendation the efforts of the public authorities, he says, "these are great things, and, well improved, would give an undoubted overthrow to the tyranny of vice. But we of the *Plebii* find ourselves justly aggrieved in all this work of reformation; and the partiality of the reforming rigour makes the real work impossible." Addressing the vicious part of the nobility and gentry, he says, "We do not find, impartially speaking, that you are one jot better than ourselves, your dignities, estates, and quality excepted.' "'Tis true, we are all bad enough, and are willing in good manners to agree that we are as wicked as you; but we cannot find on the exactest scrutiny, but that in the commonwealth of vice, the devil has taken care to level poor and rich in one class, and is fairly going on to make us all graduates in the last degree of immorality." As a matter of complaint, he says, "We do not find that all the proclamations, declarations, and Acts of Parliament yet made, have any effective power to punish you as they do us;" not, as he justly observes, from any inequality in the laws, but because those who administer them pass over the same crimes in themselves, and in persons of their class and description, which they punish in others. "Therefore, till the nobility, gentry, justices of the peace, and clergy, will be pleased either to reform their own manners, or find out some method and power impartially to punish themselves when guilty, we humbly crave leave to object against setting any poor man in the stocks, or sending him to the house of correction for immoralities, as the most unjust and unequal way of proceeding in the world."

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* Tindal, iii. 374.

† Life of Abp. Tennison. p. 65.

De Foe goes on to observe, "our laws against all manner of vicious practices are very severe; but these are all cobweb laws, in which the small flies are catched, and the great ones break through. My Lord Mayor has whipped about the poor beggars, and a few scandalous whores have been sent to the house of correction; some ale-house keepers and vintners have been fined for drawing drink on the Sabbath-day; but all this falls upon us of the mob, as if all the vice lay among us. We appeal to yourselves, whether laws or proclamations are capable of having any effect, while the very benches of our justices are infected. 'Tis hard, gentlemen, to be punished for a crime by a man as guilty as ourselves: this is really punishing men for being poor, which is no crime at all; as a thief may be said to be hanged, not for the theft, but for being taken." Our author acknowledges that in the upper classes are to be found many persons of honour and good morals, but their partiality in the execution of the laws rendered them as criminal as the more vicious. "The quality of the person," he observes, "has been a licence to the open exercise of the worst crimes; as if there were any baronets, knights, or esquires in the next world, who, because of those little steps custom had raised them on higher than their neighbours, they should be exempted from the divine judicature; or, as Captain Vratz, who was hanged for murthering Esquire Thynne, said, God would show them some respect as they were gentlemen."

Upon the importance of example in the higher orders, he observes, "if my own watch goes false, it deceives me and none else; but if the town clock goes false, it deceives the whole parish. The gentry are the leaders of the mob: if they are lewd and drunken, the others strive to imitate them; if they discourage vice and intemperance, the others will not be so forward in it, nor so fond of it." In combatting the apologies that were offered for the magistrates, such as the necessity of laying informations before they could act, and the scandal that attached to informers, De Foe justly remarks, that such difficulties have no existence where the work is agreeable. "But the main thing which makes our gentlemen backward in the prosecution of vice, is their practising the same crimes themselves. In the times of executing the laws against Dissenters," he says, "we found a great many gentlemen very vigorous in prosecuting their neighbours: they did not stick to appear in person to disturb meetings, and demolish the meeting-houses, and rather than fail, would be informers themselves; the reason was because they had a dislike to the thing. Now, were our gentlemen and magistrates real enemies to the immoralities of the age, they would be forward and zealous to root the practice of them out of their neighbourhood. 'Tis in the power of the gentry of England to reform the whole kingdom without either laws, proclamations, or informers; and without their concurrence, all the laws and declarations in the world will have no effect."

Of another class of persons who should be patterns of all goodness, he observes, " The clergy, also, ought not to count themselves exempted in this matter, whose lives have been, and in some places still are so vicious and so loose, that it is well for England we are not subject to be much priest-ridden. The parson preaches a thundering sermon against drunkenness, and the justice of peace sets my poor neighbour in the stocks, and I am like to be much the better for either, when I know, perhaps, that this same parson, and this same justice were both drunk together but the night before. A vicious parson that preaches well, but lives ill, may be likened to an unskilful horseman, who opens a gate on the wrong side, and lets other folks through but shuts himself out. The application of this rough doctrine," continues he, " is in short both to the gentry and clergy, *physicians, heal yourselves.*" (T)

(T) De Foe's representation of the vices of the clergy is corroborated by a writer whose testimony some may consider less suspicious. " It was complained that they were moreover faulty in their morals, that they gave not due attendance to their office, and that some of the dignified clergy had cures more than one a-piece, which were inconsistent with that duty they did owe to the mother-church, and against the ecclesiastical canons. Nay, it was even publicly represented by the most hearty friends of what was then called " The Constitution," that others belonging to the church were often seen in ale-houses and taverns, and to be in great disorder through their intemperance; that not a few of them were newsmongers and busybodies. That those presbyters, whom the bishops ought to consult with, were generally absent from the church; and the arch-deacons, which are to be their eyes, were in the ends of the earth; that some of them did not so much as live in the diocese, and were so far from visiting parochially, that they did it not at all in person; that they had indeed their deputies, who did but little more than dine, call over names, and take their money; that some in the country had two cures, and resided on neither; that others left their own cures, and either became curates to others, or else spent their time in hunting after other preferments in the city; and this too though they were

In order to guard against any misconception of his reasoning, he thus concludes: "it is acknowledged there are in England a great many sober, pious, religious persons, both among the gentry and clergy, and it is hoped such cannot think themselves injured in this plea. If there was not, laws would never have been made against those vices; for no men make laws to punish themselves. It is designed to reflect upon none but such as are guilty, and on them no farther than to put them in mind how much the nation owes its present degeneracy to their folly, and how much it is in their power to reform it again by their example; that we might live in England once more like Christians and like gentlemen, to the glory of God, and the honour of the present king and parliament, who so publicly have attempted the great work of reformation among us, though hitherto to so little purpose."

The popular declamation adopted by De Foe, was well calculated to produce an impression upon the public; and some of his remarks will be thought seasonable in the present day. His zeal for reformation, unlike that of a modern society of great and terrible name amongst the poorer classes, led him to attack wickedness in high places, as the surest step towards the cure of it in the lower orders, who are always governed by the example of their superiors. Such is

well provided for, and under no manner of temptation to poverty; that the catechizing of children and servants was now very much disused, and even by those who vaunted not a little of their zeal for the church; that there was not that care which there ought to be in instructing the youth, and preparing them for the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood: and that lastly, the preparing of children for confirmation was extremely neglected, the bare saying some words by rote being as much as was generally done, and sometimes more. These and a great many more crimes and defaults of the clergy were complained of publicly in the pamphlets of those times; and that not by enemies but friends to them, and such as studied chiefly a reformation of the abuses complained of, and which they had promised themselves from the piety of their new king, to whom they were most strongly attached."—*Life of Kettlewell*, pp. 214—216.

the influence of station, that the character of a town or village is usually determined by that of the landed proprietor, or the resident clergyman; and the most transient visit is sufficient to ascertain its prominent features. Public virtue is but the aggregate of its qualities in private individuals; every person, therefore, should consider that he is adding something, either good or bad, to the general stock, and the amount of his contribution will be in proportion to his elevation in society. This is not the proper place for enlarging upon the subject, but I cordially agree in the following sentiment of our author: "the punishing vices in the poor which are daily practiced by the rich, seems to me to be setting our constitution with the wrong end upward, and making men criminals because they want money."*

For his labours in the cause of reformation, De Foe tells us that "he was ill-treated by the guilty or their friends, as a reproacher of magistrates, a reviler of the rulers of the people, and a meddler with what was not his own business." But he justly observes, "every man who is subject to the law, and punishable by it, has a right in its execution upon all offenders; and if one is punished for a crime whilst another goes free, the first man is injured because he has not equal justice with his neighbours." His right of complaint, he says, is farther strengthened, "because he may one time or other find the effect of it. But the encouragement to vice by example is what we are all concerned in; and I am, and ever shall be concerned to hear us talk of reformation, when those who should reform us, practise all the crimes they ought to punish."†

Several years afterwards, De Foe looked back with satisfaction upon the sentiments he had uttered in the foregoing pamphlet. In several of his Reviews he takes the opportunity of pleading for the impartial enforcement of the laws against immorality, and relates some curious stories of their too partial operation. In one of his numbers he says, "it is now eight years since I first had the misfortune to anger my masters the magistrates, by writing a little book called 'The Poor Man's Plea against all the Proclamations or Acts of Parliament for Reformation.' And though an honest, learned, and judicious clergyman was pleased to do that book more honour than its author deserved by taking it into the pulpit with him, it is plain he has been censured for the sermon, and is hated to this day by all the leading men of the parish of St. J—— not far from the city of London. (U) And yet I must take the liberty against the rule of authors to quote myself, and say to our gentlemen of justice and correction,

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* Review, i. 353. † Ibid, p. 354.

> Our modes of vice from high examples came,
> And 'tis example only must reclaim."*

One of the most prominent causes of immorality at this period, and against which De Foe often declaims in his *Review*, arose from the stage. Not only were many of the pieces produced upon it grossly obscene and profane, but the players themselves became a scandal to the nation upon the same account. This pollution, like many others, is to be traced to the depravation of morals that followed upon the Restoration. It was then that the custom of bringing women upon the stage took its rise, their characters having been previously personated by boys and young men. A new taste also pervaded theatrical performances. "To humour the king," says Coke, "the public theatres were stuffed with obscene actions and interludes, and the more obscene pleased the king the better, who graced the opening of them with his presence, at the first notice of a new play."* Yet, in the midst of all his revels, Charles mocked the nation with edicts against vice and profaneness; which one of our historians has celebrated as so many testimonies of his virtue and prudence! † The excesses which continued to pervade the stage, at length awakened the zeal of the celebrated nonjuror, Jeremy Collier, who published in 1698, "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage, together with the sense of Antiquity upon this Argument." In this work, replete with learning and sarcastic wit, he attacked most of the living dramatic writers from Dryden to Durfey, supporting his argument by extracts from their writings, selected with ingenuity, and expressed with a force of language which none of them could resist. Although Congreve and others attempted a reply, yet the power of truth extorted from them many concessions; so that in the judgment of the public, as well as the wise and pious, Mr. Collier obtained a complete triumph. From this time, a considerable reformation took place in the character of theatrical exhibitions, although they still remained liable to much censure, as we shall see in the next reign. King William, who but rarely went to those places of diversion, being informed of the scandals practised there, issued an order to the Lord Chamberlain to restrain the excesses complained of; and the Master of the Revels was commanded not to licence any plays that contained expressions of an immoral or irreligious tendency.

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* Review, i. 353.

(U) This was not the only instance of the production of De Foe's work in the pulpit. Mr. Timothy Rogers, a man of seraphic piety, and one of the ministers of the Presbyterian congregation in the Old Jewry, quoted it in his Sermon for Reformation of Manners, which is in print.

It was about this time, or rather a little before, that the various societies in London for Reformation of Manners, first took their rise, and quickly extended themselves into remote parts of the country. They originated in some private meetings in London, composed of young men who were awakened to a sense of religion, and became solicitous for their mutual improvement. Receiving countenance and encouragement from the more serious part of the clergy, particularly Dr. Horneck and Dr. Kidder, these undertook to regulate their proceedings, and to avoid umbrage, framed all their rules in strict conformity to the established church. After the Revolution, these societies became more numerous, and they began to extend their views to the state of morals around them. Hence arose, in 1692, the more comprehensive institutions just mentioned; but it was some time before they received the patronage they merited. From the dissolute and profane they met with much scorn and opposition ; but the accession they afterwards received from the more respectable portion of the community, and by the countenance of royalty, they were enabled to accomplish their object with a greater degree of success. As the number of these societies increased, it was found convenient that distinct objects should be assigned to them; and many were formed solely for purposes of a religious nature. Notwithstanding their hostility upon other subjects, Churchmen and Dissenters emulated each other in the good work, which they maintained with spirit by frequent meetings, whilst the attention of the public was excited by periodical sermons in its behalf. Being supported by the laws, countenanced by the judges, and patronized by some of the most considerable persons in the nation, these societies were instrumental in the course of a few years, in suppressing many asylums of vice that afforded a temptation to various classes of the community, and several thousand persons were convicted and punished for their disorderly conduct. A contemporary historian describes them as having "without all doubt a very good design, though afterwards, in some respects much changed and perverted."* It is certain that they effected a visible improvement in the public morals, although, perhaps, they might sometimes subject themselves to the charge of partiality in their proceedings.

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* Coke's Detection, ii. 108.

† Echard's Hist. Engl. ii. 772.

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* Coke's Detection, iii. 66.

De Foe, writing upon the subject in 1706, says, "England, bad as she is, is yet a reforming nation; and the work has made more progress from the court even to the street, than, I believe, any nation in the world can parallel in such a time and in such circumstances. Let any man look back to the days of King Charles II. when rampant vice overran the court, when all sort of lewdness spread over the face of authority. Let him view the example of the late royal pair, King William and Queen Mary; how vice learned to blush, and being banished from the court by the royal example, virtue, and good manners became the mode there. Let him look into the examples now reigning, and tell me. Is it nothing to dethrone the devil and depose his agents? To disarm the factors of hell, and banish rampant vice?" De Foe informs us, that the reformation societies had made great havoc with street-lewdness, by rooting out the stews: that they had erected schools where great numbers of vagrant children, who, if left to themselves, would have been trained to the gallows, were carefully instructed, catechised in the principles of religion, and afterwards put out to trades, large sums being applied to that purpose. He assures us that there were above 1500 such children in London only, who were clothed, catechised, and instructed at the public charge, who would be at last introduced into the world in a religious and sober manner, and saved from ruin, soul and body.*

One of the points to which these societies directed their efforts, was to procure a more decorous observance of the sabbath; a service in which our author likewise laboured. He tells us, that Philip the 5th, king of Spain, in the number of privileges which he granted to the town of Briheuga, in Castile, as a recompence for the damage sustained by the inhabitants from the English troops, allowed them a weekly market to be kept on a Sunday; a profanation of sacred time that awakened the indignation of De Foe, who observes, "this assuming a right, which princes now-a-days make very light of, to countermand the great laws of their Maker, has nothing that I can see in it, but a mark of mere insolence and rebellion against heaven, claiming a legislative power, with a *non obstante* to the laws of God. I confess, this is not so much a satire upon the Popish government of Spain, where, for any thing we know, the practice may have been of long continuance; but certainly those nations who have testified to the contrary practice, and then committed the crime, are doubly guilty. This is the black charge laid against the English Book of Sports, which has been the true source of that deluge of wickedness which has broken in upon the nation. (x) And there, by the way, *The Repre-*

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* Review, iii. 613, 614.

(x) The Book of Sports was drawn up by Bishop Morton in the reign of King James I., and stated, "that for his good people's recreation, his majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreations; such as *dancing* either of men or women; *archery* for men, *leaping*, *vaulting*, or any such harmless recreations; nor having of *may-games*, *witsonales*, or *morrice-dances*; or setting up of *may-poles*, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of divine service; and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old customs; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only; as *bear-beating bull-baiting*, *interludes*, and at all times (in the meaner sort of people prohibited!) *bowling*." The spirit of ecclesiastical monopoly was unfolded even upon this occasion; for the unhappy Papists and Puritans were utterly excluded from any participation of the royal indulgence! This curious document was ordered to be read in all parish churches; but the pious Abp. Abbot flatly forbad its being read at Croydon, and his example was followed by the more religious part of the clergy, who were immediately dubbed Puritans, and many of them suspended from their livings. The royal martyr, at the instigation of Laud, revived this appendage to the services of the church; and to mark his abhorrence of puritanism, entertained the court with balls, masquerades, and plays upon a Sunday evening; whilst the common people showed themselves strict conformists, by follow-

sentation, (Y) as it is called, of the Convocation, might have found it, if it had answered their purpose as well as by referring it to the rebellion, which was forty years afterwards; but as philosophers say, this would enable them better to solve other phenomena, viz. blackening the Puritans." The foregoing case led De Foe to notice the profanation of the Sabbath in his own day by the plying of coaches: and he quotes some lines from a former work of his, intitled, "Reformation of Manners," for which he says, "the author obtained many a hearty curse."

> "And hackney-coach men durst not ply the street
> In summer-time, till they had paid the state."

"This refers," continues he, "to a certain Act of Parliament in the reign of the late King William (and which I count the worst blemish in that reign), for licencing hackney coaches; in which a certain number of them had leave to ply on Sundays. I remember to have heard how the late Queen Mary greatly disliked that act, and wished the necessities which were pleaded in excuse for it were better explained, and the abuses of it prevented, or guarded against. Now," he observes, "all the coaches that please may work on the Sabbath-day; which as long as it continues, I shall freely bear my little testimony against it, in time and place convenient."*

Although the societies for reformation were countenanced by many of the bishops, and by the more religious part of the clergy, yet they excited much jealousy in others, whose strait-laced notions led them to frown upon any scheme of

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ing their morrice-dances, may-games, church and clerk-ales, and other kinds of revelling. Thus, the nation was put in a fair way of throwing off that redundancy of religious feeling, which had been excited by the reformers, and their immediate successors.

(Y) A document published by the Convocation towards the close of the reign of Queen Anne, and probably composed by Atterbury.

* Review, viii. 209—211.

improvement beyond what the laws had already provided. Of this number was Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, who was in many respects a worthy man, but too rigorous in his ecclesiastical opinions. Although he did not directly oppose the Societies, yet when his clergy applied to him for advice, he declined giving them his sanction, for reasons detailed by the writer of his life. His objections were grounded chiefly upon their novelty, and there being no foundation for them either in the laws or the canons of the church. He also objected to the co-operation of churchmen and dissenters, and forbad his clergy from taking any part with the latter. He thought the efforts of the clergy should be confined to the reading of prayers upon week-days, and other religious services; and he disapproved of their interference in the execution of the laws, which he thought should be left to the magistrates.* The futility of his scheme, however, is sufficiently exposed in the foregoing extracts from De Foe. Sharp's religion seems to have been more tied to forms than that of his friend Tillotson, who, in reply to a scruple of Beveridge about reading the brief for the relief of the French Protestants, as contrary to the rubric, gave him this short but significant reproof: "Doctor, doctor, charity is above rubrics."† (z)

In aid of the reformation societies, the press was for many years actively employed in the production of sermons, and various religious treatises, adapted to the exigency of the occasion. Several accounts of the proceedings of these societies were also printed. One of them, written by Josiah

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* Newcome's Life of Abp. Sharp, i. 170, &c.

† Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 131.

(z) Of Sharp's narrow-mindedness, we may relate the following anecdote. When the inhabitants of Kingston-upon-Hull had collected a sum of money in 1688, for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of their incorruptible representative, Andrew Marvel, and had procured a suitable inscription for it, Sharpe positively refused its admittance in his church, which was that of St. Giles's in the Fields, where Marvel was buried.

Woodward, a pious clergyman of the Church of England, contained a narrative of their rise and progress. Another, recommended by several judges, bishops, and lay-lords, was intitled, "An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in London and Westminster, and other parts of the kingdom. With a Persuasive to persons of all ranks to be zealous and diligent in promoting the execution of the Laws against Profaneness and Debauchery, for the effecting a National Reformation. Published with the approbation of a considerable number of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. London, printed for B. Aylmer, 1699." 8vo. This was an anonymous performance, but appearing under so imposing an authority, and recommended by the earnestness of the writer, it was well calculated to forward the object he had in view. The book is introduced by the king's proclamation for preventing and punishing Immorality and Profaneness; the late queen's letter to the Justices of Middlesex for the same purpose; and the Address of the Commons before noticed. There is also appended, An Abstract of the Penal Laws against Immorality and Profaneness. At the opening of the next reign, a farther account of these societies was published in "An Account of the Progress of the Reformation of Manners in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and other parts of Europe and America. With some Reasons and Plain Directions for our hearty and vigorous Prosecution of this Glorious Work. In a Letter to a Friend. To which is added, 'The Special Obligations of Magistrates to be diligent in the Execution of the Penal Laws against Profaneness and Debauchery, for the effecting of a National Reformation. The Twelfth Edition, with considerable Additions. London, 1704.'" 4to. This pamphlet is an important sequel to the former accounts of these societies, and bears full testimony to the activity and zeal of the persons engaged in them. One of the narratives, which are mostly anonymous, has been sometimes ascribed to De Foe, but apparently without sufficient reason.

CHAPTER XXI.

Politics of England after the Peace of Ryswick. Short History of the Last Parliament.—Merits of King William.—Character of his Fourth Parliament.—Declining Influence of the King.—His Mortifications from the Parliament.—Intrigues to supplant the Whigs.—The King and his Ministers attacked in Parliament.—Resumption of the Irish Grants.—De Foe's Remarks upon that Measure.—Publications upon the Subject.—Account of Mr. Stephens's Sermon before the Commons.—Measures against Dissenters and Catholics.—Imprisonment of a Popish Priest.—Remarks upon the Intolerant Proceedings in Parliament.—Affronting Address to the King.—The Session terminates.

1698—1700.

Perhaps there are few periods in our national history, that require to be studied with greater care and attention, than that which elapsed between the peace of Ryswick, and the death of King William. The principles of right and wrong were so frequently confounded and lost sight of in the clamour of party, as to disturb the political ties that connected men of similar opinions, and to smother the feelings of honour and patriotism, which were sacrificed at the shrine of a selfish ambition. In order to understand the policy that was pursued at this period, and the respective merits of the parties contending for power, we must be guided by the dictates of cool reason, rather than the pretensions of politicians, or the adulations of their admirers. This will enable us to analyse their actions, which were often dictated by motives that were at variance with their public professions.

By the terms of the Triennial Act, the third parliament of King William terminated the fifth of July, 1698. Some time afterwards, a summary amount of its proceedings was published in an able pamphlet, intitled, "A Short History of the Last Parliament. London: printed for Jacob Tonson, &c. 1699." 4to. This work has been frequently quoted as Dr. Drake's, and is ascribed to him in the late edition of the Somers's Collection of Tracts; but it was evidently the production of a Whig writer, and a zealous friend of King William; therefore, of very opposite principles to those of Drake. The author opens his work by some just reflection upon the merits of the king, which were the more seasonable, as the nation now fostered a disposition to undervalue his services. "The honourable conclusion of the late war with France, to the great mortification of his majesty's enemies, the satisfaction of his friends, and the admiration of all men," says he, "must thankfully be acknowledged as chiefly owing to his majesty's great wisdom, invincible courage, and inflexible resolution. By his courage, he rekindled the decaying fire of this warlike people, taught them by his conduct, and provoked them by his example to equal the achievements of their valiant forefathers, and thereby restored to England the ancient reputation of her arms. But, by his wisdom, he procured us an honour we never could before pretend to: he made England a match for France, as well in the cabinet as in the camp; and gained by a wise treaty more than by arms had been won in the field. For any potentate to unite many states and princes, disagreeing in interests, inclinations, and religion, in a strict confederacy against a common enemy, and to preserve that alliance unbroken for many years together, notwithstanding the great losses these allies sustained, and in despite of all the attempts of foreign and domestic enemies to dissolve their union, must be acknowledged by all the world as the effect of a refined and masterly judgment. Yet the honour, which, perhaps, has no example, is by the confession of all due to his majesty, who was the only centre in which so many various lines could meet, the only head which such differing interests could confide in, as capable to direct them in a juncture of time, when the liberties of all Europe lay at stake." In promoting the objects here mentioned, the author pays a just tribute of acknowledgment to the great skill and steady zeal of the late parliament, and justifies his encomiums by a review of the various important measures that engaged its deliberation. Drake's work, for which this valuable tract has been mistaken, was not published until three years afterwards, and bore a different title. His object is to blacken the Whigs, and traduce the actions of King William, for which he was called to account by the parliament, as will be seen hereafter.

The fourth parliament of King William, assembled the ninth of December, 1698, and sat two years; Sir Thomas Littleton being the Speaker. Although the Whigs retained their influence in the Commons, they were divided in their sentiments upon some questions of public importance; and it was found that many violent men had been returned, who, destitute of all public virtue, bent their whole force to ruin the friends of the Revolution. To this end, many were accused of fictitious crimes; innocent persons were brought into danger; and whilst the Whigs were charged with corruption, their efforts to detect it in others, and to punish the guilty, were counteracted by those who wished only to supplant them, that they might have the greater facility of practising it themselves.* (A)

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* Cunningham's Great Brit. i. 172.

(A) The manner in which the public was served in this reign, may be illustrated by the following anecdote. During the inquiries that were set on foot by this parliament, Mynheer Gore, a man of talents and principle who had been preferred by the king to an office in the ordnance department, growing weary of his fellow-commissioners, now desired to quit his office, and gave the king an account of their conduct. "Well," said the

Since the conclusion of the war, William had lost much of his personal influence. This was but too evident from the proceedings in parliament, which were often insulting to his feelings, and indicated the prevalence of faction over the purer spirit of patriotism. Hence arose a series of mortifications that embittered the closing years of his reign, and made him desirous of relinquishing a crown which he wore with so little satisfaction, either to himself, or to those about him. By the union of men of opposite political sentiments, agreed only in their opposition to the court, and their aspiration to power, the measures of government were often embarrassed, and received a colouring that rendered them unpopular with the people. To men so well skilled in the art of intriguing, the passport to popular favour was by no means difficult; for, as the bulk of mankind seldom look far into things, so an affectation of purity will often pass for patriotism, especially when accompanied by acts of a beneficial nature. It was by the self-created patriots that formed the opposition in this parliament, that the king, and his best friends, the Whigs, were persecuted and betrayed; and they pushed their measures with such violence, that the king could no longer carry on the government without taking them into his councils.

As William had been slow in disbanding his army, the first measure of the Commons was to pass a bill for its reduction to seven thousand men, to consist entirely of native subjects. Much asperity was mixed up with the debate, as well as many personal reflections upon the monarch for his tardiness in conforming to the resolutions of parliament. He had hoped by delay, and by a conciliatory address, to obtain some mitigation of a measure that he wished above all things to avert; but that which touched him the most

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king, "it is like all the rest; and if you would be a thief too, your numbers would protect you." Gore, however, resigned his situation, and retired to Holland.—*Cunningham*, i. 171.

keenly was the sending away his Dutch guards, who had been so long his companions in arms, and whose presence he deemed essential to his personal safety. His ministers, overawed by the violence of the Commons, felt themselves too weak to interpose in his behalf; so that William was reluctantly compelled to acquiesce in their removal. The mortification he felt during the progress of the measure, impressed him with a resolution to abandon the government, and pass the remainder of his days in Holland; but "The entreaties of his friends, and the calm suggestions of reason restrained the dictates of passion, produced a prudent submission to necessity, and saved the nation from confusion and anarchy."* With sentiments the most favourable to liberty, the present writer is disposed to think, that the peculiar circumstances of the case called for some indulgence to the feelings of the monarch, which he believes to have been outraged upon this as well as upon other occasions, more by the malignity of faction, than by a regard for the interests of the country. "After the parliament had sat several months to little or no purpose, the king perceiving them to be envious of his glory, prorogued them to another time, less graciously than usual; for the House of Commons had shewn but little regard for him: and then, leaving proper persons to govern the kingdom, he passed over into Holland."†

Whilst the opponents of William and his ministers were triumphing in parliament, intrigues were going forward in private, in order to supplant the latter in the royal favour. Sunderland, who was restrained by no moral principle, and betrayed all who trusted him, had, most unaccountably, acquired a large portion of the king's confidence, which he now used against the Whigs. Being closely united by friendship, as well as by marriage, with Marlborough and

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* Somerville's Polit. Trans. p. 517.

† Cunningham, i. 173, 174.

Godolphin, they united their forces with other noblemen of influence, who had been linked like themselves to different parties, and were now aspiring to the emoluments of office. The Tories, animated by similar motives, as well as by their rooted antipathy to the Whigs, easily coalesced in their designs, as did the Earls of Albemarle and Jersey, who were in possession of the king's favour, but were gained over by Sunderland. An attempt was made by the last mentioned nobleman to procure the desertion of Lord Somers from his party; but, when applied to, he answered, "That this was neither his custom, nor consistent with his honour."* This formidable phalanx was strengthened in the House of Commons by the accession of the country party, headed by Harley, Seymour, and Musgrave, men who had been active in the detection of abuses, and not less so in their endeavours to embarrass the government. These pushed their designs with so much intemperance, as to involve equally the innocent and the guilty; assailing in their progress men of the most upright character, and the zealous assertors of liberty, but rendered obnoxious by the possession of office.

Under the threatening aspect of an opposition compounded of so many factious materials, the second session of this parliament was opened November 16, 1699. The king made a conciliatory speech to both houses, but it was so far from being met by a kindred spirit, that the Commons presented a peevish address, ominous of their future proceedings.

The first attack upon the ministers, involving them in the piracy of Kidd, failed for want of evidence; but another, directed against the sovereign, having greater pretensions to popularity, met with better success. This related to the forfeited estates in Ireland, which the king had bestowed chiefly upon his personal friends, or those who had been instrumental in reducing that part of the empire. Such grants, whether properly so or not, were an undoubted prerogative of the crown; and the only pretence for interference, was the king's promise to refer their disposal to the approbation of parliament. Several years had now elapsed since the disposal of those lands, nor had any attempt been made to disturb the owners in their possession, until it was moved by the present parliament. The first step was to institute an enquiry into their value, which the commissioners greatly over-rated; and it was speedily followed by a bill for their resumption. To prevent any interruption to their proceedings, the Commons now closed their doors to the petitions of the injured; an act strongly indicative of the injustice of the measure, as well as of the violence with which they meant to carry it. In vain did the king tell them, "That he had a right to reward those who had served him well, out of the rebels' estates, which, by law, were forfeited to him; and that it did not belong to them to examine on whom he had conferred them; as also, that it would tend more to the honour and safety of the kingdom, to seek some other way of paying the national debts;" for, to this object it was now proposed that they should be devoted. As such a measure was likely to meet with much opposition in the Lords, the Commons adopted the dishonest artifice of tacking it to the Land-Tax Bill; in which form it passed both houses, and received the royal assent. Some resolutions were passed by the Commons at the same time, in censure of the ministers who had advised the grants.

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* Cunningham, i. 182.

Although the specious pretence for this measure was the application of the proceeds to the public service, yet its real result was to benefit the friends of the opposition. About thirteen or fourteen of them were sent to Ireland in the character of commissioners, armed with inquisitorial powers, and each provided with a salary of fifteen hundred a year; which, with other charges, consumed the whole of the rents.

When the estates were afterwards sold by auction, nothing but debts were returned into the Exchequer, the promoters of the measure having taken care to enrich themselves by the plunder of others, under the hypocritical farce of serving the public.* The manner in which this affront was received by the king's friends, is thus gently noticed by De Foe: "They thought the heat with which those people pushed at his majesty for the disposing of the forfeited estates unkind, because of the merit of the persons to whom the grants were made, the just claim they had to his majesty's bounty, and the equity of giving them their rewards out of the spoil of that country they had spent so much blood, and hazarded so much to reduce."†

In order to reconcile the people to the humiliating insult offered to the king by this proceeding, Dr. Davenant, one of the members, was employed to vindicate it in print. This he attempted in "A Discourse upon Grants and Resumptions, shewing how our Ancestors have proceeded with such Ministers as have procured to themselves Grants of the Crown Revenue, and that the Forfeited Estates ought to be applied towards the Payment of Public Debts. By the Author of the Essay on Ways and Means. Lond. 1700." In answer to this, there came out an able and accurate work, composed probably by Lord Somers, and intitled, "JUS REGIUM: or the King's Right to grant Forfeitures, and other Revenues of the Crown, fully set forth and traced from the beginning; His Majesty vindicated as to his Promise concerning his Disposal of the Forfeited Estates; the manifold hardships of the Resumption; and the little Advantage we shall reap by it plainly demonstrated. Lond. 1701." 4to. The learning and judgment displayed in this performance, brought it into great notice at the time, and render it a valuable document for all who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the subject; nor does the temperate language of the writer entitle him to less praise from those who admire the solidity of his arguments. His accurate information enabled him to correct a number of errors in the report of the commissioners, as to the value of the estates; whilst, with no less feeling than discernment, he exposes the evils that would necessarily result from the spoliation of so many innocent individuals. The motives of the men who were driving their schemes with so much intemperance, were not unknown to the writer, who, in reference to their tendency, says, " There is no readier way that designing people can take to shake the pillars of government, than to destroy the revenue of it."

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* Cunningham, i. 181, 209.

† Present State of Parties, p. 11.

The bad spirit that now reigned in the Commons, was displayed upon several other occasions. To mark their dislike of those political principles, upon which alone the Revolution could be justified, they omitted the usual vote of thanks to the clergyman who preached before them upon the 30th of January, 1699—1700, and conveyed an oblique censure upon him by a resolution, " That for the future, no person be recommended to preach before this House, who is under the dignity of a dean of the church, or hath not taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity." The offensive preacher was William Stephens, B. D., rector of Sutton, in Surry, who published his sermon, in which there appears nothing contrary to sound doctrine, either in politics or religion. From his text, Titus iii. 1, he takes occasion to show that good government only is the ordinance of God; that the nature of it varies in different states; and that it originates in the consent of the people. The last position he founds upon a passage in Peter, who exhorts Christians to " submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme;" where, says he, " the king is called the ordinance, or creature of man, because the sovereign power itself is vested in men, according to human compact." The illustrations of the preacher are well applied; and, if in opposition to the doctrines in vogue before the Revolution, they are more consonant to good sense, and to the practice of mankind in the best regulated states.

That this was eminently a high-church parliament, the complexion of its proceedings towards the non-established sects, prevented any possibility of mistake. In an early stage, the Commons addressed the king to remove from the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy, all persons of small estates, under pretence that they were dependant upon the court; but the measure was in reality levelled at the Dissenters. The same bitterness prompted a proclamation for banishing all Popish priests and jesuits; and another for putting the laws in execution against Papists, and other disaffected persons. And, as if these laws were not sufficiently effectual, the Commons, in the true spirit of persecution, brought in a bill to prevent the growth of Popery, which readily passed both houses. The chief provisions were to prevent papists from inheriting the estates of their ancestors; which were to pass to the next Protestant heirs: to banish all Popish priests from the kingdom; and to adjudge them to perpetual imprisonment in case of their return: and to facilitate its execution, a reward of a hundred pounds was offered for each conviction. Although such a measure was totally repugnant to the generous spirit of William, who had been often heard to say, that he came over to deliver the Protestants, and not to persecute the Catholics, yet, he now felt himself unequal to contend with it. At an earlier part of his reign, he would probably have interposed his negative; and such a course at this time, would have entailed lustre upon his name; whilst the act itself must affix lasting disgrace upon the men who could devise so monstrous an act of legislation.(B)

(B) One of the consequences of these intolerant proceedings, was the ap-

Protestants often complain, and not without reason, of the intolerance of Papists; but they would do well to remember that these have a score against them upon the same account. It is in vain to recal the days of Mary, or to reproach foreigners for their cruelty to Protestants, whilst they practise the same themselves. The policy that governs Catholic princes in their dealings with heretics, is not a degree more barbarous than this act of the English parliament; and, whoever may exclaim against persecution, those who justify such an act have no right to open their mouths. If the principle of proscription be once admitted, one sect may use it as lawfully as another. Every constitution is imperfect that does not proclaim an equalization of political rights, irrespective of religious distinctions; and it opens the door for rival sects to contend for the ascendancy. Public opinion has already done much to root out old prejudices; it has been applied successfully to commercial monopolies; and those of an ecclesiastical nature will probably be found at last to be equally at variance with the interests of the community, as they are with the principles of justice, and common sense.

One of the last measures of this parliament, was a resolution to address the crown against the employment of foreigners; but before it could be presented, the king avoided the affront, by relieving himself of a set of men who had contributed so largely to his uneasiness. The session terminated upon the 11th of April, 1700, and a change taking place in the ministry, the parliament was afterwards dissolved.

prehension of Paul Atkinson, a Franciscan friar, who, in the year 1700, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for performing the functions of a Roman Catholic priest. He was confined in Hurst Castle, in the county of Southampton, where he died, October 15, 1729, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the *thirtieth* of his imprisonment. He was so generally esteemed for his exemplary conduct, as to be visited by persons of all ranks and conditions, who commiserated his fate.—*Historical Register* for 1729, *Diary*, p. 58.

CHAPTER XXII.

New Political Situation of the Country.—Causes that led to it.—De Foe's Account of the Influence of France upon the Affairs of England.—Affair of the Spanish Succession.—Treaty of Partition.—Its Reception in Spain and England.—Defence of King William.—De Foe's Vindication of the Treaty.—Death of the King of Spain.—Perfidy of the French King.—Mortification of William.—De Foe's Reflections upon the temper of the Nation.—He publishes 'the Two Great Questions considered.'—And a Vindication of it.—His Pamphlet upon the danger of the Protestant Religion.—Formidable State of the Popish Party.—Appeal to Protestant Kings.—Fleming's Epistolary Discourse.—Reflections upon the Toleration of Catholics.—Reflections upon the Emancipation of Catholics.

1700.

One of the most fruitful sources of the subsequent contentions in parliament, arose out of a political transaction with which the Whigs became identified, although it was rather a measure emanating from the king, and conducted under the auspices of men of different parties.

For ages prior to the Revolution, the Kings of England had taken but little concern in the affairs of Europe, excepting sometimes to become the dupes and pensioners of their more crafty neighbours.(c) The English had consequently ceased to be a warlike nation, and being governed by feeble princes from the time of Elizabeth, they held but a low place amongst European nations. The Revolution that drove the Stuarts from the throne, necessarily produced a change in the national character, although it was slow in operation. For, the crown being transferred to a prince who had been bred to war as a profession, and whose countrymen were from necessity a military people, it was not to be expected that his habits would become altered by his being transplanted to another country. Indeed the long wars that grew out of

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(c) In discoursing upon the influence of France in the affairs of England, De Foe observes, "There opens a vast scene of secret history, and it would lead us back four reigns. Ever since the French match of King Charles I. the policy of that court has always too much influenced ours, and we have reason to say, never to our advantage. To the alliance with France we owe

many of the misfortunes of the royal family; the debauching the principles of the princes of the blood; and the introduction of Popery into the Chapel-royal, where it raised feuds between the king and his royal consort, and insulted King Charles I. in his own house. To this we owe the custom of marrying Papists, and the misfortunes of England in three Popish queens successively; England having never had but one Protestant queen-consort from the time of Henry VIII. to the late Queen Mary, being above one hundred and fifty years. To this fatal French influence, we owe Irish massacres, English plots, counter-plots, and court intrigues, to the disturbing the peace of these nations above forty years. To this we owe the loss of Dunkirk, which has been a goad in our sides, and which by harbouring and protecting their squadrons and rovers, has, during these two years, cost this nation above five millions in the damage of our trade. To this we owe the debauching our court, and assisting the court to debauch all the nation, by the example of French customs, French whores, and all manner of public luxury, which from thence took such deep root, as all our Acts of Parliament, Societies for Reformation, joined to the example of a well-ordered court, under two exemplary princes, are not able to recover to this day, and perhaps never will. In the French court, King James II. sucked in the unhappy principles of Popery and arbitrary government; from whence has flowed all the terrible consequences he felt here, and two of the most bloody, chargeable, and fatal wars that ever this nation knew. And whoever will take the pains to look back into the past reign of King Charles II. will find him the mere dupe of the French management. And it is hardly fit for me to express how they turned that Prince round in his affairs, how they prompted him to clash with his people, that denying him money, they might always keep him depending on them for a supply; and as they frequently supplied him, they took care always to make it dear enough to England. For this, they wheedled Dunkirk out of his hands, to the eternal shame of this nation, the intolerable interruption of our trade, and the ruin of our merchants."—*Review*, i. 338.

the Revolution, and rendered necessary by that event, rather confirmed them than otherwise; and success having made him a hero, his alliance was courted by the weaker princes of Europe. This recognition of his merits, however flattering to the king, appeared of little value to a large class of his English subjects, who were regardless of foreign politics, and rather courted than opposed the French interest. The mischiefs entailed upon the nation in the late reigns, had sufficiently exposed the folly of this policy, which received a deadly blow by the Revolution. The ties between England and Holland being drawn closer by that event, raised a strong bulwark against the power of France, which had become formidable to the rest of Europe, and rendered an union amongst neighbouring states a matter of the first importance for the preservation of their independence. Although the success of the late war was not answerable to the expectations of the allies, yet, it left them in an improved situation. The peace of Ryswick not only confirmed the title of William, but arrested the encroachments of France, by defining the boundaries of neighbouring states; and by weakening her resources, left her less formidable to the rest of Europe. It was evident, however, that the ambition of her ruler had received no diminution, and his proximity to a neighbouring throne offered a strong presumption that before the lapse of any length of time, the flames of war would be again kindled upon the continent.

In reference to the conduct of William at this time, De Foe writes thus: "At the end of the late war, his majesty had all the honour paid him, even by his enemies, and with them by all Europe, that it was possible for any mortal man to be capable of receiving. Covered with glory, he triumphed in the hearts of his people, having brought down the haughty spirit of the French to own him for King of England, and to send their ambassador-extraordinary, Count Tallard, to own him accordingly, even while King James II. was retained as a refugee in that court. Thus circumstanced, had not his mind been filled with anxiety, not for our peace, for that was obtained, but for the peace of our posterity, that future ages might enjoy from his wisdom, what we had enjoyed from his power, what should have moved him to farther trouble, when he might have sat down, and being completely happy, might have enjoyed the fullest felicity of human life. But far from this, his thoughts still employed for the good of mankind, led him to cast his eyes on every particular that either at that, or in after time, might disturb the tranquillity which was then newly settled in Europe; this has many testimonies both abroad and at home." De Foe adds, "so much had heaven inspired this prince with a view of the future interest of Christendom, so just were the views he took, and so clear his sense of the consequences that must follow, and which we have seen to follow the death of Charles II. of Spain!"*

Charles the Second, King of Spain, although under forty years of age, was in such a languishing state of health, that his life was despaired of; and, having no family, nor immediate relatives, the succession to the Spanish monarchy seemed likely to be contested. The leading claimants were the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, in behalf of younger branches of their respective families; and, as these princes were known to entertain an implacable jealousy of each other, their pretensions were not likely to be settled without an appeal to the sword. Anxious to prevent so formidable an addition to the French power, and despairing, in the present temper of the nation, of his ability to restrain the ambition of Louis by threats which he could not execute, William thought it most prudent to try the effect of negotiation. He, therefore, entered into a treaty with France and Holland, by which it was stipulated that the crown of Spain and the West Indies should fall to the Electoral Prince of

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* Review, viii. 390—392.

Bavaria; whilst France should rest satisfied with the Spanish dominions in Italy. As the Dauphin descended from the elder branch of the Spanish house, the French king, notwithstanding his oath, was unlikely to forego so favourable an opportunity for aggrandising his family; and of his disposition to embrace it, he gave glaring proofs by his intrigues at the court of Madrid.

The first treaty of Partition, signed the nineteenth of August, 1698, was rendered nugatory by the death of the young prince of Bavaria, which happened in the early part of the following year. As the motives which dictated it were still in full force, the same contracting parties entered into a fresh agreement, signed in London, the twenty-first of February, 1700, by which the Archduke Charles, son to the emperor, was to occupy the place assigned in the former treaty to the Prince of Bavaria. Whilst this negotiation was going forward, the artful monarch of France was busily employed in bribing the Spanish ministers, and in undermining the emperor's party, which had the support of the queen. He was also materially assisted by the effect which the news of the treaty produced in Spain. That it should excite a general indignation in that high-minded people, is not at all surprising. The king was greatly enraged at the indignity thus cast upon him by the interference of foreign princes, who presumed to parcel out his dominions as might suit their convenience, without consulting him upon the subject. These, and other considerations, caused the French interest to preponderate in the Spanish councils; and the king, after consulting with the Pope, made his will, bequeathing the whole of his dominions to the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin.

The Treaty of Partition was nearly as ill-received in England, as in the country that was most concerned. One of our historians says, "All people spake of it in England without any guard or moderation. Several dull pamphleteers also attacked that treaty with violence and scurrility, reproaching the king's councils, and shewing the French monarch what advantage he might make of the commotions in England. Among these was Dr. Davenant, and other necessitous persons, without money, without hopes, and who had no other view, but to make their fortunes out of the troubles of their country and public revolutions."* As the treaty had been negotiated by the Whigs, it furnished the ground for criminating speeches against them in parliament, by those who were aspiring to their places; which they no sooner obtained, than they felt no scruple in carrying its provisions into effect. Obnoxious as a treaty of this description must appear in the eyes of moralists, it deserves to be mentioned, that King William entered upon it with circumspection, aware of the inconveniences and dangers by which it was surrounded. One of our historians justly remarks, that, "The preservation of the balance of power, the only apology for the officious interference of foreign states, was a principle too refined for popular apprehension, and the consequences but too little interesting to those, who, however much the security of other governments might be advanced by the treaty, were themselves to sink in the scale of empire."† It is observed by a respectable writer, that "The king, who had the interest of England and Holland to manage on this occasion, was unwilling to engage them in a new war, which they would have been neither over-willing nor able to sustain, if the King of Spain had died soon after the peace; and, therefore, thought it most advisable to yield up to France such provinces of the Spanish dominions as would be least prejudicial to these nations."‡

For his concern in this affair, the memory of William continued to be traduced by his enemies long after his death; upon which De Foe observes, "It has been the mode of late, of both parties, to censure the wisdom and management of King William, though it is by that wisdom and management that we retain the posture we are in to censure him: and heaven, that was witness to his sincerity, and gave him wisdom above his equals, is visiting us for the insolence offered to his memory, by bringing us to seek refuge in that very treaty, which we would, if we could, lower the price of, and undervalue to posterity."* In vindication of the memory of a much injured prince, it is but justice to add the sentiments of a distinguished statesman, Lord Hardwicke: "Though the Partition Treaty," says he, "ended unfortunately, and displeased all parties, the disinterested and upright intentions of King William in promoting it, are sufficiently apparent from these papers. Strong sense, and an extensive view of the interests of Europe, particularly those of the countries he governed, are no less discernible; and will do honour to the memory of a prince, who, with all his defects, deserves the veneration of every good Englishman.†"

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* Cunningham's Great Brit. i. 185.

† Somerville's Polit. Trans. p. 536.

‡ Essay upon the present Interest of England.

The policy of William in concluding the above treaty, and the advantages it held out to the trading interests of the nation, are ably handled by De Foe. "I remember," says he, "when a certain nobleman in great office, did me the honour to force me to hear him reproach the memory of *my dear and glorious master, King William,* who, though a foreigner, not only pursued, but understood the interest of this kingdom better than any of her kings that ever went before him; his lordship, entering upon the article of the Treaty of Partition, was pleased to be very witty upon his majesty, saying, 'That he purchased our peace with the ruin of our trade.' I shall have more time to speak of the treaty in general on other occasions than here; but for the present I cannot but say this: that treaty, the foot of which I am persuaded will still be the ground-plot of the next

* Review, viii. 391.

† Hardwick's State Papers, ii. 333.

peace, had but one article in it which could be prejudicial to our trade, viz.—the possession of Italy. And, however I might be willing to grant for argument's sake, that the putting Italy into the hands of the French might be a check to our Turkey and Venetian trade, all the world knows it can affect no other part. But I can never allow that it would be any way equivalent to the injury done to our trade by the French possessing Spain, in which they would wound us in two of the most sensible parts, and strike at the foundation and life of the English trade, viz.—the export of our manufactures, and the import of our bullion. And this is not all: for, by their encroachment upon the Spaniards, and managing that supine people, they have opened the sluices of their silver, and made new channels for it to run in; so that the current lies directly from Peru to Paris, and from Mexico to France. In this case, I should be glad to know, whether the putting Italy into the hands of the French was of so much concern to our trade, as to let them take possession of Spain, and have a free trade to the Spanish West Indies? This vindicates the honour and wisdom of King William beyond all the power of human endeavour to cavil; and the kindest thing I can say of the objectors is, that their ignorance betrayed them, and they did not understand what they were doing."*

The crisis, to meet which the foregoing treaty was provided, at length arrived. The King of Spain dying Nov. 1, 1700, the nature of his will, which was probably known before, was formally communicated to France. Upon learning its contents, the French king, with a prudish indifference, affected to hesitate about accepting it, professing to refer himself to the unbiassed opinion of his council. His scruples, however, whether real or pretended, were soon removed by the influence of Mad. De Maintenon, who had a particular regard for the Duke of Anjou; so that, at a cabinet council assembled in her lodgings, it was agreed to accept the will, and the young prince being saluted king, soon afterwards set out for Spain with a splendid retinue.

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* Review, i. 386.

The news of this proceeding was but ill-received at the leading courts of Europe. A fresh war seemed inevitable; and, in anticipation of such an event, French garrisons were placed in the principal towns of Italy and the Netherlands: squadrons were also dispatched to Cadiz and the West Indies. The Dutch being now at the mercy of the French, who threatened them with an immediate invasion, they were compelled to purchase their safety by acknowledging the Duke of Anjou. William received with indignant feelings the unwelcome intelligence of this breach of treaties. Had circumstances permitted, he would have placed himself at the head of a new confederacy, for the purpose of humbling the proud and faithless monarch of France. But the dissensions of political parties had broken his spirits, and enfeebled his power, insomuch that England was no longer looked upon with any dread by her ambitious neighbour. (D) Foiled in all his projects, and obliged to part with his best friends, William fell into a sullen discontent, which impaired his health; and the glory of humbling France was reserved for his successor.*

De Foe, writing upon this subject some time afterwards, says, "The woe of madmen and knaves be upon them who, to condemn the Partition Treaty, and mortify

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(D) "'Tis confessed, England, since her troops were broke, and her people more divided in temper than it was hoped they would have been under so mild and gentle a government, makes but a very mean figure abroad; and were any king at the head of her councils as well as forces, but King William, hardly any nation would trouble their heads to confederate with her. But all the world does not yet see our weak side, and the reputation of the king makes us more formidable a great deal than we really are."—*Two Great Questions Considered*, p. 13.

* Tindal, iii. 383—435.

those that made it, mended the matter by making it worse, and saved Italy from the French, by looking on, and letting them take quiet possession of Spain, thereby stopping effectually all the sources of our trade. In vain the eyes of the king were open to our interest; in vain he solicited them not to lay themselves open, and strip themselves naked of their force. His majesty was far from the design of maintaining an army without consent of parliament, but laboured to convince them,—that it was necessary to have a parliamentary consent, to so much force, and for so long time only as that authority should see needful. In vain that prince, whose royal heart was wholly possessed with thoughts of good, and with anxious care for the peace of this nation, stooped to intreat us to have a little patience, till we saw ourselves in a condition not to be insulted. But fate, and our own temper, the same jealousies and fears which long since embroiled us, prevented our safety, and too hastily disarmed us. Had not this been done just then, France had never ventured to have broken the Partition Treaty, had never attempted Spain, and at last, had never ventured to insult that prince, by declaring the Prince of Wales, King of England."*

The new attitude in which Europe was placed by the accession of a French prince to the throne of Spain, furnished a topic for discussion from the press. The pen of De Foe, which was that of a ready writer, took up the subject in a pamphlet, intitled "The Two Great Questions Considered: 1. What the French king will do with respect to the Spanish monarchy? 2. What Measures the English ought to take. Lond. printed by R. T., for A. Baldwin, at the Bedford Arms, in Warwick Lane, 1700." 4to, pp. 28. This work appears to have been penned in the interval between the death of the Spanish king, and the acknowledgment by France of the Duke of Anjou. The latter circumstance he considers highly improbable; and, although the event falsified his calculations, yet he reasons the subject with acuteness, and upon the principles of human prudence. The idea of conveying away a whole nation by will, he treats as perfectly ridiculous, and classes it amongst "the many weak actions of that effeminate prince, who hardly ever did a wise one." He sees nothing in the gift upon which to build a pretence of right: for, "if he had bequeathed it to the right heir, I presume he would not have thought his title one jot the better for it; and if he had bequeathed it to the Grand Signior, the King of France would not have thought his title the worse for it; so that it signifies just nothing at all." He argues, that the French king will pursue that course which he considers most likely to promote his own interest; and this, he contends, will be to fulfil the treaty; but if the case should turn out contrary to his expectations, then the policy of England will be, in concert with foreign princes, to enforce its observance, in order to maintain a just balance of power in Europe; which he terms "the life of peace." "Every king in the world would be the universal monarch if he might, and nothing restrains but the power of neighbours." Although the temporary nature of this pamphlet precludes it from any interest in the present day, yet, for good sense, cogent reasoning, and superior language, it affords a favorable specimen of the writer's talents. (E)

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* Review, i. 390.

(E) The sentiments conveyed in the following passage are distinguished by their propriety. "If the French get the Spanish crown, we are beaten out of the field as to trade, and are besieged in our own island. And never let us flatter ourselves with our safety consisting so much in our fleet; for this I presume to lay down as a fundamental axiom, at least as war is carried on of late, that it is not the longest sword, but the longest purse that conquers. If the French get Spain, they get the greatest trade in the world into their hands: they that have the most trade, will have the most money; and they that have the most money, will have the most ships, the best fleets, and the best armies; and if once the French master us at sea, where are we then?"

De Foe had not delivered his sentiments long to the world, before he was rudely assailed by an anonymous writer, in "Remarks upon a late Pamphlet, intitled "The Two Great Questions considered, &c. Lond. 1700." 4to. To this our author soon after replied, in "The Two Great Questions further considered. With some Reply to the Remarks. *Non licet hominem Muliebriter Rixare.* Lond. 1700." 4to. In the preface he tells us, he should have left so much scurrility to the contempt of silence, if it had not been for a personal attack upon himself; and in his caustic manner he adds, "since then his passion has put him out of temper, and transported him beyond the bounds of decency and good manners, I shall leave him to come to himself again, by help of time, sleep, and such other proper remedies for men that are crazed and distempered; and address myself to that part of mankind who are masters of their senses." In reply to the charges brought against him, he says, "of all men in this town, the author of 'The Two Questions considered,' was never yet suspected of being a courtier, an advocate for standing armies, an insulter of parliaments; but just the contrary, as will appear if ever he is called to shew himself. As for places at court, or pensions, the author never had, nor desired any; but hopes a man may be allowed to speak what truth and honour obliges any man to do of a king that has deserved so much of the English nation, without the reproach of a railing scribbler." After triumphantly vindicating his own character from the aspersions cast upon it by an angry writer, one of "the Pamphleteering Club, who have set themselves to sow the seeds of misunderstanding and distrust between the king and his people," he proceeds to illustrate and establish the argument in his former pamphlet, "craving leave of the public to explain himself in some things, in which he little thought any body would be so weak as to mistake him." His antagonist acknowledges that he had "gotten abundance of reputation by writing his book."

Our author, far from having exhausted his argument in the two publications above-mentioned, returned again to the subject shortly afterwards, and brought it before the world in a new light. In a well-written pamphlet, published in the same year, and intitled "The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe. London, 1700." 4to, he invokes a spirit to his aid, than which none has been more formidable; although, in the existing temper of the nation, it had then but little effect. Addressing King William, to whom the work is dedicated, he says, "it is not the meanest of your trophies, and of which mankind speaks in your praise, that both your majesty and your ancestors have always been the champions of liberty, and the great defenders and protectors of the Protestant religion." He adds, "you may view her in a posture of trembling, at the formidable prospect of her increasing enemies;" and intreats him, if the danger be real, to interpose his shield for her protection. In discussing the subject, our author goes into an historical inquiry into the Origin and present State of the Protestant Interest in Europe; in the course of which, he examines the strength of the Popish party, which had acquired a great preponderancy, and was wielded by warlike princes, who were zealous to extend its influence. Inferring from these circumstances the utmost danger to the Protestants, he recommends them to unite their strength for the purpose of dividing their enemies, and affording to their friends such assistance as the nature of their affairs might at any time render necessary. This advice wearing a warlike appearance, he readily foresees the opposition that would be made to it by the Jacobite party; and he anticipates and exposes, with great skill, the objections that would naturally result from their policy.

In beating up a crusade for the protection of Protestants, De Foe never intended that it should be any other than a defensive one; but whatever advantages an ardent mind might picture to itself, as resulting from a confederacy for the accomplishment of such a purpose, the political interests of rival states would prevent such an union from being either cordial and lasting. Wars arising out of religion are always to be deprecated, as still farther alienating the parties whom it is desirable to approximate. When one party, however, evinces a disposition to attack, precautionary measures will be suggested to the other. The ascendancy and increased activity of the Popish party in the days of De Foe, alarmed his fears in common with those of other Protestants, and they were not altogether groundless. The expelled monarch was known to be a bigotted Papist, and had a powerful party in England, that looked to him as their rightful sovereign. His friend and ally, Louis XIV., was a merciless persecutor of his Protestant subjects, and had recently added to his former power, the influence and resources of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. Some German princes had lately withdrawn from their alliance with Protestants; and the emperor, who had been a bitter persecutor of his Hungarian and Bohemian subjects, was now only restrained by his contest for power with the French king. These circumstances considered, no one could pretend to say that the Protestant religion, which depended for support chiefly upon England and Holland, under the auspices of King William, was not in considerable jeopardy; and considering the intimate connection which subsisted between the religion of Rome and despotic principles of government, it is not surprising that our author should sum up his argument by saying, "that Popery and slavery are like sin and death, direct consequences of each other; and whenever we think fit to admit the first, any body may promise us the last."

The subject was also taken up at this time by another writer, in "An Appeal to all Protestant Kings, Princes, and States, concerning the Present Danger of the Protestant Religion, and the great Decay of its Interest in Europe.

With a most awakening Account of the Unjust and Cruel Methods for the Destruction thereof, that are practised in several Countries. Lond. printed for Brabazen Aylmer, 1700." 4to. This is a good historical pamphlet, and a sensible appeal to the best feelings of mankind, upon the enormities committed by the Popish party for the furtherance of its power. The same cruelties also gave rise to a remarkable publication about this time, by another writer. This was, "An Epistolary Discourse on the Rise and Fall of Papacy; or, the Pouring out of the Vials in the Revelation of St. John. By Robert Fleming, V. D. M. Lond. 1701." 8vo. Dedicated to his relation, John Lord Carmichael, principal Secretary of State for Scotland. The author was a Scotch divine of great learning and abilities, but settled in London, where he was honoured with the personal notice of King William. His object is to trace the rise of the anti-christian power, by comparing the notices of it in the book of Daniel, and in the Apocalypse with the events of history; and from thence, by a series of ingenious calculations, to deduce the probable period of its downfal. But the most singular part of his performance is that which points to the overthrow of the French monarchy, which he fixes at the period when it actually took place by the death of Louis XVI. Upon this account, his work attracted considerable notice at that time, and gave strength to his other conjectures relative to the fulfilment of the scripture prophecies. It deserves to be remarked, that the modesty of the writer is equal to his learning; and the excellent spirit that pervades his book, united with many just and striking observations, recommend it to the approbation of every judicious reader.

Had the present writer lived in those times of political and religious animosity, it is probable he would have participated in the general opinion which then prevailed amongst Protestants, respecting the toleration of Papists. Their case, however, has since undergone a material alteration, and he can see no just reason now for excluding them from the privileges of other subjects. For, admitting the Catholic religion to be a mass of absurdity addressed to the passions of the ignorant, and that the system remains the same that it ever was; and making every allowance for the jealousy of Protestants, founded upon correct views of its exclusive principles, and the despotic character of its hierarchy; yet, the circumstances of the times have so far operated in its favor, that there is no longer any danger of its supplanting the Protestants. By the death of the Pretender, and the extinction of his family, the hazard from that quarter has ceased; Catholics have been suffered to acquire property in the country, which has given them an interest in defending it; and time has softened down much of the asperity which then existed upon account of religious differences: a feeling that will be still farther extended in proportion to the diffusion of education and the free intercourse of different sects, which are the certain precursors of liberal principles. It deserves also to be remarked, that men are often much better than the system they espouse, and are usually most under its influence, when it is proscribed by authority. Upon these accounts, a distinction of *castes* amongst the professors of different religions, is no longer desirable; and the abrogation of every law that has given exclusive political privileges to one sect, to the prejudice of the rest, is a measure founded as much in policy and good sense, as it is clearly a matter of natural right. This is not the place for arguing the subject at length; or it would be easy to meet the objections that still operate upon the fears and prejudices of a large number of Protestants, who confound the objects of government with the duties of religion, and suffer their bigotry or their selfishness to contravene the principles of political justice.

CHAPTER XXIII.

False Pretences of Political Parties.—Declining Influence of the Whigs.—Change of Ministry.—The King parts reluctantly with Lord Somers.—His Character.—Reflections upon the Change.—Character of the new Ministers.—De Foe's Strictures upon the Different Ministries in this Reign.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Pamphlets preparatory to the Election.—De Foe's 'Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man'.—He publishes 'The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-Jobbing in Elections.'—And 'The Villany of Stock-Jobbers Detected.'

1700.

It has been remarked by an eminent statesman, that "parties in a state, generally, like freebooters, hang out false colours; the pretence is public good, the real business is to catch prizes."* That such was the character of the faction which now predominated in parliament, its past and future proceedings afforded evidence that could not be mistaken. Owing to a variety of causes, attributable partly to their own misconduct, but chiefly to the misrepresentations of their enemies, the popularity of the Whigs had been for some time upon the decline, whilst that of their opponents had been rising with rapidity. The success that attended the measures of the latter, prompted them to new encroachments, and increased the embarrassment of the Whigs, who were unable to conceal their weakness.

Despairing of his ability to carry on the government any longer without the assistance of the Tories, the king found himself under the necessity of submitting to their influence. His first plan was to mix the parties in the cabinet; but this scheme, although acquiesced in at first, produced only disunion and weakness: nor did it suit the aspiring views of the rising party, who determined to monopolize the whole power of the government, and to pour its vengeance upon the falling Whigs. Under the influence of feelings embittered by disappointment, and from a desire to avoid, if possible, the infliction of further insults, the king was at length prevailed upon to dismiss his old and faithful friend, Lord Somers, who retired from office with a manliness and dignity that befitted a person of his conscious rectitude. This sacrifice, which was not obtained without great reluctance, was followed by others of an inferior nature, until the whole cabinet became transformed; and presented the spectacle of a head united to a body, but without any sympathy for its constituent members. The want of congeniality between the king and his new ministers, tended but to increase his regard for those he had discarded, and to aggravate his loss of their services; but the removal of that able and upright statesman, Lord Somers, was a step that he regarded with compunction to the latest hour of his life. (F)

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* Political Maxims, by the Marquis of Halifax.

(F) Upon the removal of Lord Somers, the courts were immediately deserted, the laws silent, and all proceedings at a stand It was a long time before any one could be found to take his place; for no one thought himself worthy to succeed Lord Somers in that high office. At length, a successor was provided, with the title of Lord Keeper, in the person of Sir Nathan Wright, a man of inferior abilities, but a high-churchman, and wholly devoted to the schemes of the Anti-Revolutionists. The character of his predecessor is thus drawn by a contemporary writer: "John Lord Somers, late Lord Chancellor, is of a creditable family in the city of Worcester; his father was an attorney, and bred him to the law, which was his profession for some years before he was taken notice of. He was retained as one of the council for the seven bishops in King James's reign; and behaved himself in that cause with so much applause, as gained him a very great reputation, and first brought him into business. On King William's

The conduct of William in deserting the men who were most attached to his person and government, cannot be accounted for upon any rational principles. Lord Somers, whose fidelity he had proved upon a variety of occasions, and of whose wisdom and integrity he had the highest opinion, offered to stand by him upon the present occasion, and to carry him through his difficulties. Nothing but the most perverse and ill-judged policy could induce him again to throw himself into the arms of men, distinguished only by their corruption and their treachery, and who would have found no difficulty in betraying him had an opportunity offered, from which they could have reaped the benefit. Much of the trouble experienced by the king throughout his reign, arose from the unwise mixture in his cabinet, of men of opposite principles, and from his too easy confidence in those who aspired to his favour. A ministry, composed of

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accession to the throne, he was made Attorney-General, Lord-Keeper, Lord Chancellor, and a peer; and was for many years chief in the administration of public affairs. He gained such a reputation of honesty with the majority of the people of England, that it may be said, very few ministers in any reign ever had so many friends in the House of Commons; or could go to the city, and, on their bare word, gain so much credit of the public. He is believed to be the best Chancellor that ever sat in the chair, and as knowing in the affairs of foreign courts, as in the laws of his own country. He gave entertainments to foreign ministers, more like one always bred up in a court, than at a bar; and used often to treat people at his table, of several professions, as if it were the only thing he ever had studied. Such a force of expression, that he convinces at the same time that he informs; and all his arguments so regular, that like geometrical stairs, they support one another. Yet this gentleman (as all *English* chief ministers generally are), was envied, and often struck against by the House of Commons, the affair of Kidd, and the Partition, with the passing of grants in his own favour, were the great weapons made use of against him; but he had warded the blow, if the king, by his taking the seals from him, had not seemed to have approved of the proceeding. Being discharged from all his employments, he still keeps up a great interest in both Houses, a thing very uncommon for an *English* disgraced minister. He is of a grave deportment, easy and free in conversation; something of a libertine, of middle stature, brown complexion, near fifty years old." *Mackey's Memoirs*, p. 48—50.

men strongly attached to the Revolution, was the fittest to secure him upon the throne, and to complete a settlement built upon the basis of liberty, and upon the ruins of hereditary right. "When the ministry was changed, liberty, modesty, fidelity, and justice, seemed to take their flight; and ceremony, violence, treachery, artifice, fraud, and a base desire of gain, to come in their place. But estates, got by such means, seldom descend to the third generation amongst Englishmen, who, for the most part, indeed, are free from those arts of acquiring them. These vices were opposed by the best patriots, but to no purpose."*

The causes that led to the different changes of government in this reign, are thus detailed by De Foe: "King William, at his first coming to the crown, put the whole management of affairs into the hands of the Whigs; and what was the consequence? Why, he was obliged to dismiss them again, and throw himself into the hands of his enemies; to fly from the persons who had brought him in, to those who endeavoured to keep him out. His majesty trusted them till the great cause which obliges all wise princes to change hands, came upon the stage; I mean knavery. In short, for 'tis in vain to mince the matter, they proved the very same, or worse knaves than those they had turned out. The king was bought, sold, betrayed and abused, by intolerable briberies, treacheries, and villanies, by insufferable avarice, injurious treatment, and oppression of the subject, till at last, they grew haughty and insolent, as they were false and mercenary, and his majesty was forced to put himself into the hands of his enemies, to save himself from his friends.

"If any man ask me, when this was, and by whom? Let him spare me the trouble of answering the question, by looking back to the horrid doings in the three first years of his majesty, how scandalously he was abused in his own family and household: how places were perpetually bought and sold; frivolous quarrels raised to put men out of their livelihoods, who perhaps, had lately bought those places at exorbitant rates. Let them look into the treasury, customs, and excise; what party-making! what buying and selling! what misapplying! And all this under the first Whig administration. And, though I must own, that this first administration of the Whigs was what I always wished, yet, I cannot blame the king for turning out a set of men who abandoned their country, their master, and the cause of justice, honour, and truth, to gratify the root of all evil; who made themselves unfit to serve any master, and who, if he had not turned them out would soon have ruined us all.

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* Cunningham, i. 208.

" I do not say, for I would not be mistaken, that when his majesty shifted hands, he found the other party honester, for they cheated him in like manner; and thus the unhappy monarch was driven into constant extremes, ever shifting sides, and knowing not who to trust. When growing a little acquainted with men and things, and better able to choose for himself, then the restless power of faction never gave him quiet, till he was forced to put away from him his faithful servants who had run through all the parts of the public management, who had struggled with him through infinite difficulties, who had gained a consummate experience, and began to be master of the justest measures. These, they clamoured him to remove, till they got the seals and the flags into such hands as they pleased, where they knew he would be sure to be neglected, impoverished, or betrayed.

" Who can, without indignation, read the reproaches cast upon his person, his honour, his morals, and his management, even by those who call themselves Whigs, while his bounty was not always supplying them? Even those who at first congratulated and panegyrized him, who lifted him to the clouds in prose and verse, at last how did they affront him with insolent language, and load him with the blackest crimes? And now, these same men, in their writings pretend to cry him up again, just as it serves their turn.

"I am not at all vain in saying, I had the honour to know more of his majesty than some of those that have thus insulted him knew of his horse; and I think, if my testimony was able to add to his bright reputation, I could give such particulars of his being not a man of morals only, but of serious piety and religion, as few kings in the world, in these latter ages of time, can come up to."*

"When party-fury shook his throne,
And made their mighty malice known;
I've heard the sighing monarch say,
The public peace so near him lay,
It took the pleasure of his crown away."†

To prevent any misconstruction of his meaning in this censure of parties, De Foe thus explains himself in a subsequent paper. "A Whig may be false to the nation, and abuse his master's bounty, rail at the hand that raised him, and make speeches, &c.; and it is an unhappy disaster when it is so. But, when I complain of a few who strove to be called Whigs, into whose hands when the king reposed the trust of the nation, he was ill-used and betrayed, let no high-flying zealot raise comfort from this: your whole party abused him; you besieged him with ingratitude; your climate blew always with storms of raillery and reproach; your mouths were always full of cursing and bitterness; and you were ever casting the venom of your tongues and the filth of your passions in his face. His best actions were the subject of your detraction and envy; his disasters your mirth; his sorrows your song; his death your triumph; and the nation's loss your joy.

"If a few Whigs acted wrong, it is not to be construed of the party generally; and I shall have much wrong done me, if I am suspected so much as insinuating that, next to God's immediate providence, it was any but that interest and party too, that carried his majesty through the inextricable labyrinths of faction, civil feuds, party heats, personal resentments, jarring interests, declining trade, dreadful deficiencies, and constant mis-management and disaster. And, to make this out, I dare say, if I divide all the principal actions of that reign into happy and unhappy, we shall find not a dram of Tory counsel in the first, or Whiggish counsel in the last." After enumerating some of these he observes, "I could descend to persons also, and let you see, that when a few of the Whigs whom I charge with the first errors, and those of but mean figure in management too, are reckoned up, the party must blush to see, that the number and character of them are such as will give them small satisfaction in coming to a balance; especially when the whole weight of management of that difficult reign, generally speaking, lay on the shoulders of that party; and that even when his majesty was forced to shift hands, it was always to his damage.

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* Review, iv. 66, 7.

† Essay on the Storm, p. 3.

"I hope this will satisfy any person of impartial thinking, that the bringing Whig and Tory to a level is far from the design of this paper, as the thing is impracticable in its own nature. And, indeed, the high-flying gentlemen themselves have always taken care, by their known and constant practice, to clear me of attempting this Herculean labour. The prodigy of their inconsistent attempts on the liberties of their country, and their application to constant mischiefs and divisions, have so singled them out, and made them remarkable in the world, that they stand by themselves in these things like a beacon flaming upon a hill, that can burn nothing but itself. I hope none will make any other construction of what I have said, than the true, honest, and single design of defending the memory of King William, which the ungrateful people he had been bountiful to, vilely attempt to reproach: and, if I am more than ordinarily warm on that head, I claim to be excused, as well in respect to public justice, as to particular obligation, which I can never forget."*

The absence of the king, who spent the chief part of the summer upon the continent, afforded the new ministers an opportunity of concerting measures for strengthening their power, and weakening the influence of their rivals. Their first step after his return, was to procure a dissolution of parliament, which took place December 19, 1700, and inspired them with the hope of gaining such additions to their strength, as would confirm their triumph over the Whigs. The new parliament was appointed to meet in the following February; but before the elections took place, the press was actively employed by both parties in recommending the choice of such members as corresponded with their wishes. Many excellent pamphlets were produced upon the occasion, pointing out those marks by which the people might distinguish between the friends and enemies of the Revolution, and guarding them against the influence of bribery and corruption.

It was at this time that De Foe published his "Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. Lond. 1701." 4to. Addressing "the good people of England," he says, "The distrust of parliaments in the four last reigns, was the nation's general grievance, and the destruction of that mutual confidence between king and people, which is so essential to the prosperity of a nation. Parliaments were called together; a long speech, and great pretences for money opened the session; and as soon as the end was answered, they were sent home about their business." De Foe runs the parallel between former kings and the one then upon the throne, much to the advantage of the latter; and tells us, the eyes of the English are only to be opened by a sense of immediate danger. "Any body might have known in former times," says he, "what the issue of a Popish successor would have been, and some wiser than others told the people of it, but were rewarded with the axe and the halter for their news."

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* Review, iv. 102, 3.

In discussing the qualifications necessary for a parliament man, he reduces them to the six following heads:—

1. The person chosen should be thoroughly satisfied with the order of things established at the Revolution; therefore, neither Papists nor Jacobites, declared friends of James II. To such he has nothing to say, provided they keep the peace, and do not push themselves into public notice; "but to single out such men to serve the nation in a Protestant parliament, and to advise with King William in matters of the highest importance, is a thing so preposterous, that I know not what to say to it; 'tis like going to the devil with a case of conscience."

2. In the next place, they must be men of religion, of orthodox principles, and moral in their practice; things the more necessary to be attended to, because the security of religion, not only in this nation, but over the whole world, may depend greatly upon the nature of their counsels.

3. They should also be men of sense. "The House of Commons is not a place for fools. The great affairs of the state, the welfare of the kingdom, the public safety, the religion, liberties and trade, the wealth and honour of the nation, are not things to be debated by green heads. There has always been a sort of gentlemen in the House called *The Dead Weight*, who vote as the ignorant freeholders in the country do—just as the landlord, the justice, or the parson directs. So these gentlemen, understanding very little of the matter, give their vote just as Sir Such-a-one does, let it be how it will, or just follow such a party, without judging

of the matter. A parliament man ought to be a man of general knowledge, acquainted with the true interest of his country, as to trade, liberties, laws, and common circumstances; especially of that part of it for which he serves. He ought to know how to deliver his mind with freedom and boldness, and pertinently to the case; to understand when our liberties are encroached upon, and be able to defend them; and to distinguish between a prince who is faithful to liberty, and the interest of his country, and one whose business it is to invade both liberty and property.

4. He advises them to choose men in years. Although wisdom makes a young man old, yet the House of Commons is not a place for boys. Rash counsels are generally the effect of young heads. "He that sends a boy to market," says he, "expects to make a child's bargain." Speaking of the grandeur of the French monarchy, he says, "it is not unjustly ascribed to the extraordinary men who are of the king's council."

5. They must be men of honesty. It was formerly expected that members should be chosen with a due regard to property, that they might not be tempted by places and pensions from the court to sell their country; and the reason was a good one. But the case is now altered, the interest of the court and nation being on one side; so that there is less occasion to lay any stress upon property.

6. Members of parliament should be men of morals. "Rakes and beaus are no more fit to sit in the House of Commons, than fools and knaves. A drunken parson is a very improper person to save a parish; a lewd swearing justice is not likely to reform the country: no more is a vicious immoral parliament likely to reform a nation. Besides, how can we expect that God will accept the offering dedicated by impure hands? The work can never be supposed to prosper, while the undertakers plead for God, and at the same time sacrifice to the devil.

In the foregoing sentiments, every person who entertains a proper regard for his country, must heartily concur. At the time they were penned, the author had passed through the fervour of youth, and was arrived at an age when the judgment becomes matured by experience. They are to be considered as the deliberate views of a man approaching to forty, and indicate a mind strongly imbued with good sense, unfolding itself in a love of rational freedom, and having a proper regard for the interests of religion and virtue.

During the dissolution of parliament, De Foe returned to the subject of his former Essay, and published "The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. London, printed in the year 1701." 4to. pp. 27.

"Of all the nations in the world," says he, "we may say, without detracting from the character of our native country, that England has been, for some ages past, the most distracted with divisions and parties among themselves. Not to enter into their history, which is too fresh in our memories to be viewed without sensible regret, we cannot but express our sense of the increase and more than ordinary progress of this wrangling temper, and with what subtlety it spreads its contagious qualities into the vitals of the state; and from thence descends into the less noble parts, the trade of the nation." This melancholy picture he illustrates by adverting to the state of those two great rivals in trade, the Old and New East India Companies, the private interests of which were made to bear upon the elections. "The grand question now asked," says he is, "What Company is he for, the Old or the New?"

De Foe next adverts to the corruption of parliaments, and asks, what any man can propose to himself by spending from two to eleven thousand pounds, that he may be chosen to sit in a house where there is not one farthing to be gotten honestly? A mystery that every one did not understand. He informs us, that in his time, there was a regular set of stock-jobbers in the city, who made it their business to buy and sell seats in parliament; and that the market price was a thousand guineas. This traffic he stigmatizes as fatal to our religion and liberties, and says, "By this concise method, parliaments are in a fair way of coming under the hopeful management of a few individuals." He observes, that a hundred, or a hundred and fifty such members in the house, would carry any vote; and, "If it be true, as is very rational to suppose, that they who buy will sell; or which seems still more rational, that they who have bought must sell, then the influence of such a number of members will be capable of selling our trade, our religion, our peace, our effects, our king, and every thing that is valuable or dear to the nation."

De Foe speaks of it as a defect in our constitution, that all the freeholders of a county should be represented by only two members, whilst the towns and corporations return more than forty, as is the case in Cornwall. He also reprobates the practice of sending members from towns which have fallen into decay, and retain nothing but their charter; whilst many towns of modern growth remain unrepresented. In the number of those that have been depopulated, and are gone to ruin, he enumerates Winchilsea, Bramber, Old Sarum, Stockbridge, Gatton, and Queenborough, "who send up gentlemen to represent beggars, and have had more money spent at some of their elections, than all the land in the parishes would be worth, if sold at a hundred years' purchase." De Foe concludes, "this persuasive performance," as it is justly termed by Mr. Chalmers, with a sentiment which cannot be too often repeated; "That nothing can preserve us at home, or render us formidable to our neighbours; nothing can maintain the reputation of our nation, and cause our alliance to be coveted, but union among ourselves."

By the time his former pamphlet was delivered from the press, De Foe returned to the charge in another discourse, intitled, "The Villany of Stock-Jobbers Detected; and the Causes of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers, Discovered and Considered. London: Printed in the year 1701." 4to. pp. 26. In this work, he confines himself to the more immediate subjects of trade, and has many judicious remarks upon the methods by which it was then carried on; but being of a temporary nature, they would excite little interest in the present day. Suffice it to remark, that the capacious mind of the writer enabled him to handle the intricacies of commerce with the skill of one who had been long practised in the art.

CHAPTER XXIV.

De Foe's Earliest Poetical Productions.—Dunton's Character of Him.—He Publishes his True-Born Englishman.—Its Success.—Occasion of the Work.—His Apology for undertaking it.—Extracts from the Poem.—Attacks upon his Work.—His Answer to Reproaches.—Explanation and Defence of his Work.—Its Effect upon his own Fortunes.—And upon the Temper of the Nation.

1701.

THE course of events leads us to consider De Foe in a new character, as paying court to the muses. Before the production of his celebrated poem, "The True-Born Englishman," which now made its appearance, his genius had dictated some short poems upon particular occasions, but not distinguished by any merit that would render them popular beyond the fleeting occasion that produced them.

The earliest of De Foe's printed poems, was, most probably, "A New Discovery of an Old Intrigue: a Satyr, levelled at Treachery and Ambition. Calculated to the Nativity of the Rapparee Plot, and the Modesty of the Jacobite Clergy: Designed by way of Conviction to the CXVII Petitioners, and for the Benefit of those that Study the City Mathematics." The poem bearing this enigmatical title, appears to have been written soon after the discovery of Lord Preston's plot, and is a satire upon city politics. It is to be found in the second volume of his Collected Writings, and is greatly inferior to his subsequent poems. Early in 1697, he composed for the celebrated John Dunton, "The Character of Dr. Annesley, by way of Elegy;" also reprinted in the first volume of the same collection. The factious spirit that pervaded the nation after the peace of Ryswick, gave rise to another poem, published in February, 1699—1700, and intitled, "The Pacificator. A Poem. London: printed and are to be sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. 1700." Folio. Leaving the contentions of politicians, De Foe ingeniously transfers the theatre of war to the field of literature, and inlists the chief poets and wits of the day as combatants, "The men of sense against the men of wit."

At the request of Dunton, our author wrote some Pindaric verses in honor of the "Athenian Society," whose labours were communicated to the world in 1691, and some following years: they were prefixed to Mr. Gildon's History of its proceedings; and reprinted in the second volume of "The Athenian Oracle." Dunton, with whom the Athenian Society was a favourite project, glories in the thought, that it had elicited poems "written by the chief wits of the age, viz.:—Mr. Motteux, Mr. Foe, Mr. Richardson, and, in particular, Mr. Tate, now poet-laureat."* Some bickerings of a private nature seem to have passed between our author and Dunton, and they are glanced at by the latter in the narrative of his life;† but his account of De Foe is, upon the whole, favourable: "Mr. Daniel De Foe," says he, "is a man of good parts and clear sense: his conversation is ingenious and brisk enough. The world is well satisfied that he's enterprising and bold; but, alas! had his prudence only weighed a few grains more, he'd certainly have writ his 'Shortest Way' a little more at length. There have been some men in all ages, who have taken that of Juvenal for their motto:

> "Aude aliquid Brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum
> Si vis esse aliquis——"

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* Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 258.

† Ibid, pp. 104, 147.

Had he writ no more than his 'True-Born Englishman,' and spared some particular characters that are too vicious for the very originals, he had certainly deserved applause. But 'tis hard to leave off when not only the itch and inclination, but the necessity of writing, lies so heavy upon a man. Should I defend his good nature and his honesty, and the world would not believe me, 'twould be labour in vain. Mr. Foe writ for me the character of Dr. Annesley, and a Pindarick in honour of the Athenian Society, which was prefixed to the history of it; and he might have asked me the question before he inserted either of them in the Collection of his Works, in regard he writes so bitterly against the same injustice in others." In a subsequent part of this work, we shall have occasion to introduce some further remarks upon De Foe, by the same writer, who, amidst the petty jealousy of rival authorship, does justice to his merits, both as a man, and as a writer. Dunton, himself, was a considerable author so far as regards the number of his publications; but he possessed talents far inferior to his ambition. His writings, however, abound with numerous anecdotes of his contemporaries, of which we have already availed ourselves, and shall continue to do so, as occasion may offer.

In reference to the occasional bickerings between Dunton and De Foe, it may be remarked, that they sometimes related to family disputes; from which circumstance, it has occurred to the present writer, whether there was not some affinity by marriage between the two writers: but this is only a surmise. It has never been ascertained with accuracy into what families De Foe married. The passage in Dunton's "Life and Errors," upon which the conjecture is founded, may be seen in the note. (G)

(G) "I was over persuaded upon some extremities, to become surety for a brother and sister-in-law, at several times, for 1200*l.*; and in regard the notorious Daniel has challenged me to prove that I have once obliged her, The month of January, 1700—1, produced the far-famed poem of "The True-Born Englishman, a Satyr;" printed in quarto, without a bookseller's name, pp. 60. (H) This work, at its first appearance, excited great attention, being as much approved by some as it was censured by others. Its popularity occasioned it to pass through numerous editions, some of them published by De Foe himself, and others pirated by unprincipled speculators; amounting, in the whole, to a number that had probably never been equalled by any former publication. About four years afterwards he tells us, that he had himself published *nine* editions, fairly printed, upon good paper, and sold at the price of one shilling: also, that it had been printed *twelve* times by other persons without his concurrence. Some of these editions, wretchedly printed, with a small type, and upon coarse paper, were sold at the price of one penny; others for two-pence; and some executed in a better manner, were sold for six-pence. Of the cheap editions, no less than 80,000 were disposed of in the public streets of London. He complains bitterly that these pirated editions were most incorrectly printed, several lines being left out in some places, and in others, the sense so mangled and distorted, that "the parent of the book could not own his own child." The loss he sustained by the publication, in consequence of the unprincipled conduct of those piratical printers, must have been very considerable. He tells us, that "had he been to enjoy the profit of his

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(in a sham-letter, dated from St. Albans, Jan. 9th, 1699); and farther, because her relations have on purpose forgot the whole of it, I shall only refresh their memories with the original letters, which I have yet upon the file."—*Dunton's Life and Errors*, p. 104.

(H) The title-page has the following appropriate motto:—"Statuimus Pacem, et Securitatem, et Concordiam, Judicium et Justitiam, inter Anglos et Normannos, Francos, et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, Pictos et Scotos Albaniæ, similiter inter Francos et Insulanes Provincias, et Patrias, quæ pertinent ad Coronam nostram, et inter omnes nobis subjectos, firmiter et inviolabiliter observari."—*Charta Regis Willielmi Conquisitoris de Pacis Publica.* Cap. i.

own labour, he had gained above a thousand pounds;[*] a considerable sum, certainly, for so small a production.

The circumstance that gave rise to this performance has been feelingly detailed by De Foe himself. "During this time," says he, "there came out a vile abhorred pamphlet, in very ill-verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called 'The Foreigners;' in which the author, who he was I then knew not, fell personally upon the king himself, and then upon the Dutch nation. And after having reproached his majesty with crimes that his worst enemies could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of *Foreigner*. This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptance as it did; I mean The True-Born Englishman."[†] Of Mr. Tutchin and his poem, a more particular account will be given hereafter.

In venturing upon the path of satiric poetry, De Foe seemed conscious that he was handling a weapon at all times dangerous, and more particularly so at a period when the passions of men were heated by the spirit of party; but having counted the cost, he fearlessly prepared for the consequence. "I expect a storm of ill-language," says he, "from the fury of the town. Possibly some may take me for a Dutchman, in which they are mistaken; but I am one that would be glad to see Englishmen behave themselves better to strangers, and to governors also; that we might not be reproached in foreign countries for belonging to a nation that wants manners. Strangers use us better abroad, and we can give no reason but our ill-nature for the contrary here. Methinks, an Englishman, who is so proud of being called a good-fellow, should be civil; and it cannot be denied but we are in many cases, and particularly to strangers, the churlishest people alive. As to vices, who can dispute our intemperance, while an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise? All our reformations are banters, and will be so, till our magistrates and gentry reform themselves by way of example. Then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without blushing. As to our ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that particular people, who pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavoured to reduce the liberties and religion of this nation into the hands of King James and his Popish powers; together with such as enjoy the the peace and protection of the present government, and yet abuse and affront the king who procured it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him. These, by whatsoever names and titles they are dignified or distinguished, are the people aimed at. Nor do I disown but that it is so much the temper of an Englishman to abuse his benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified."*

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[*] Preface to the Collection of his Writings, vol. ii.

[†] Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 6.

"The end of satire is Reformation." De Foe, in tracing the origin of the English nation, and describing in glowing colours the motley race from whence they are descended, by no means intends any injurious reflection upon them for so casual a circumstance. On the contrary, he elsewhere speaks of it as an advantage. "Nothing can be more ridiculous than to hear our people boast of that antiquity, which, if it had been true, would have left us in so much worse a condition than we are in now; whereas, we ought rather to boast among our neighbours that we are a part of themselves, of the same original as they, but bettered by our climate, and like our language and manufactures, derived from them, and improved by us to a perfection greater than they can pretend to."†

The poem opens with some lines which have passed into a proverb:

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* True-Born Englishman. Preface.

† Explanatory Pref. Works, vol. i.

"Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
The Devil always builds a chapel there;
And 'twill be found upon examination,
The latter has the largest congregation."

The object of the satire is to reproach his countrymen with ingratitude for abusing King William as a foreigner; and to humble their pride for despising some of the newly-created nobility, such as the Schombergs, the Keppels, and Bentincks, upon the same account. In order to this, he traces the rise of our ancient families to the Norman invader, who cantoned out the country to his followers, "and every soldier was a denizen." The folly of indulging this pride of ancestry, he finely exposes in the following lines:

"These are the heroes who despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd
From the most scoundrel race that ever liv'd.
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
Who ransack'd kingdoms, and dispeopled towns.
The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
By hunger, theft, and rapine hither brought;
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
Whose red-hair'd offspring every where remains;
Who join'd with Norman-French compound the breed,
From whence your True-Born Englishmen proceed.
And lest by length of time it be pretended,
The climate may the modern race have mended,
Wise Providence to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care."

Descending to the reign of Elizabeth, De Foe notices the mixture of the breed by the influx of foreigners, who fled here upon account of persecution; as they did for another reason in the time of her successor:

"The seven first years of his pacific reign,
Made him and half his nation Englishmen."

To supply the loss occasioned by the noble blood that was shed in the civil wars, King Charles the Second, after his Restoration, contributed six dukes, by his mistresses, to the English peerage,

"And carefully re-peopled us again,
Throughout his lazy, long, lascivous reign,
With such a blest and True-born English fry,
As much illustrates our nobility.
French cooks, Scotch pedlars, and Italian whores,
Were all made lords, or lords' progenitors.
Beggars and bastards by his new creation,
Much multiplied the peerage of the nation;
Who will be all, ere one short age runs o'er,
As true-born lords as those we had before.
This offspring, if one age they multiply,
May half the House with English Peers supply:
There with true English pride they may contemn
Schomberg and Portland, new-made noblemen."

To repress the pride of ancestry, he adds,

"'Tis well that virtue gives nobility,
Else God knows where we had our gentry;
Since scarce one family is left alive,
Which does not from some Foreigner derive.
Of sixty thousand English gentlemen,
Whose Names and Arms in Registers remain,
We challenge all our Heralds to declare
Ten Families which English-Saxons are."

Upon these facts, he remarks,

"A True-Born Englishman's a contradiction,
In speech an irony, in fact a fiction.
A metaphor invented to express
A man *akin* to all the universe."

From exploring the origin of the race, De Foe proceeds next to discuss its character:

"Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
And less inclined to conquer than to save;

Eager to fight, and lavish of their blood,
And equally of Fear and Fore-cast void.
The Pict has made 'em sour, the Dane morose,
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse.
What honesty they have the Saxons gave them,
And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The climate makes them terrible and bold,
And English beef their courage does uphold;
No danger can their daring spirit pall,
Always provided with their bellys full."

The remainder of the work is chiefly occupied in the praises of King William, and in exposing the ingratitude of the nation towards its deliverer. Bentinck, the personal friend of William, and Schomberg, "The ablest soldier of his age," who were singled out by Tutchin as the objects of his vituperation, are rescued from the reproaches of that writer, in a grateful record of their services. Of the former, De Foe says,

"Great Portland ne'er was banter'd when he strove
For us his Master's kindest thoughts to move.
On his wise conduct we depended much,
And liked him ne'er the worse for being Dutch.
Ten years in English service he appear'd,
And gain'd his Master's and the world's regard:
But 'tis not England's custom to reward.
The wars are over, England needs him not;
Now he's a Dutchman, and the Lord knows what."

De Foe concludes his poem by asserting character to be the truest test of nobility; any claim to rank or station that may be advanced without it, leaving the possessor but an empty title, which only emblazons his disgrace.

"Could but our ancestors retrieve their fate,
And see their offspring thus degenerate;
How we contend for birth and names unknown,
And build on their past actions, not our own;
They'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
And then disown the vile degenerate race;
For fame of families is all a cheat,
'TIS PERS'NAL VIRTUE ONLY MAKES US GREAT."

The keenness of our author's satire brought upon him a host of enemies; some from ill-will to his subject, and others because they did not understand him. "The True-Born Englishman" was answered paragraph by paragraph, in February, 1700, 1, by a writer, says Mr. Chalmers, "who brings haste to apologise for dullness." Early in the following reign, his title was imitated in "The True-Born Hugonot; or, Daniel de Foe. A Satyr;" a weak effort of malice to blast his fame, by one who hated his politics, and was envious of his popularity. To the later editions of his poem, De Foe prefixed an "Explanatory Preface," vindicating himself from the aspersions of his enemies.

Being charged with aspersing his countrymen, by discovering the meanness of their original, he replies, "I am far from thinking 'tis a satire upon the English nation, to tell them they are derived from all the nations under heaven; that is from several nations. Nor is it meant to undervalue their original, for we see no reason to like them the worse, being the relicts of Romans, Danes, Saxons, and Normans, than we should have done if they had all remained Britons, that is, if they had been all Welchmen." This mixture he considers to have been rather an advantage than otherwise. "Had we been an unmixed nation," says he, "I am of opinion, it had been to our disadvantage: for, to go no farther, we have three nations about us as clear from mixtures of blood as any in the world, and I know not which of them I could wish ourselves to be like; I mean the Scots, the Welch, and the Irish; and if I were to write a reverse to the satire, I would examine all the nations of Europe, and prove that those nations which are most mixed, are the best, and have the least of barbarism and brutality among them; and abundance of reasons might be given for it, too long to bring into a Preface."

His object in writing the poem, is unfolded in the following passage: "The intent of the satire is pointed at the vanity of those who talk of their antiquity, and value themselves upon their pedigree, their ancient families, and being True Born; whereas, 'tis impossible we should be True Born, and if we could, should have lost by the bargain. These sort of people who call themselves True Born, and tell long stories of their families, and like a nobleman of Venice, think a foreigner ought not to walk on the same side of the street with them, are owned to be meant in this satire. What they would infer from their long original I know not, nor is it easy to make out, whether they are the better or the worse for their ancestors. Our English nation may value themselves for their wit, wealth, and courage, and I believe few nations will dispute it with them; but for long originals, and ancient True-Born families, I would advise them to wave the discourse. A True Englishman is one who deserves a character, and I have nowhere lessened him that I know of." He further observes, "That an Englishman, of all men, ought not to despise foreigners as such, since what they are to day, we were yesterday, and to-morrow they will be like us. If foreigners misbehave in their several stations and employments, the laws are open to punish them equally with natives, and let them have no favour. But when I see the town full of lampoons and invectives against Dutchmen, only because they are foreigners, and the king reproached and insulted by insolent pedants, and ballad-making poets, for employing foreigners, and for being a foreigner himself, I confess myself moved by it to remind our nation of their own original, thereby to let them see what a banter they put upon themselves; since speaking of Englishmen, *aborigine,* we are really all foreigners ourselves." De Foe goes on to argue the impolicy of discouraging foreigners; "Since 'tis easy to make it appear that the multitudes who have taken sanctuary here, have been the greatest additions to the wealth and strength of the nation, the greatest essential whereof is the number of its inhabitants: Nor would this nation have ever arrived to the degree of wealth and glory, it now boasts of, if the addition of foreign nations, both as to manufactures and arms, had not been helpful to it. This is so plain, that he who is ignorant of it, is too dull to be talked with."*

The "True-Born Englishman" was always a favourite production with De Foe, who associates himself with it in the title-page of various of his writings. Although it cannot be praised highly for smoothness of versification, or harmony of numbers, yet it is a poem that may always be read with pleasure, as well for its admirable moral truths, as for its historical allusions, and the keenness of its satire. If some readers should think their countrymen degraded by the correctness of the portrait, let the sentiments above recited soften the severity of censure, and award to the author the praise of just and honourable motives.

The publication of this work had a favourable effect upon our author's fortunes, as it recommended him to the personal favour of King William; and if his royal patron was too much occupied with the affairs of government, and with military tactics, to attend to the muses, yet he was not insensible to the zeal and merits of the writer.

His unbought praises in the poem, inspired William with a desire to become acquainted with the author, who was immediately sent for to the palace, conversed with the king, and had repeated interviews with him afterwards. The manners and sentiments of De Foe, appear to have made such a favourable impression upon his majesty, that he ever afterwards regarded him with kindness; and conceiving that his talents might be turned to a beneficial account, he employed him in many secret services, to which he alludes occasionally in his writings. The nature of them he has not told, probably from a sense of delicacy; but of the fact itself, and of the cause that led to it, there can be no reason to doubt. Writing afterwards in allusion to these circumstances, he says, " How this poem was the occasion of my being known to his majesty ; how I was afterwards received by him ; how employed ; and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case ; and is only mentioned here, as I take all occasions to do, for the expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and whom it was my honour and advantage to call master, as well as sovereign ; whose goodness to me I never forget ; and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, nor ever can do so ; and who, had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in the world."* His devoted attachment to the monarch was exemplified upon a variety of occasions, as will be hereafter noticed ; and affords a fine illustration of the power of gratitude upon a well ordered mind, when there could no longer be any interest in its acknowledgment.

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* Explanatory Preface.

Of the effect produced upon the nation by this performance, De Foe gives the following account, written nearly thirty years afterwards. " National mistakes, vulgar errors, and even a general practice have been reformed by a just satire. None of our countrymen have been known to boast of being *True-Born Englishmen,* or so much as to use the word as a title or appellation, ever since a late satire upon that national folly was published, though almost thirty years ago. Nothing was more frequent in our mouths *before* that, nothing so universally blushed for and laughed at *since*. The time I believe is yet to come, for any author to print it, or any man of sense to speak of it in earnest ; whereas, before, you had it in the best writers, and in the most florid speeches, before the most august assemblies, upon the most solemn occasions."†

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* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 7.

† Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed, p. 400, 1.

CHAPTER XXV.

Fifth Parliament of King William.—Robert Harley chosen Speaker.—Partiality of the Commons.—Influx of French Gold.—Death of the Duke of Glocester.—Project for extending the Act of Settlement.—De Foe's Representation of the King's Sentiments.—Views of different Parties.—Brought forward in Parliament.—Its Ungracious Reception.—Limitations to the Prerogative.—Reflections upon the Act.—And upon the Conduct of Parties.—Harley's Share in it.—His project for an Union of Parties.—Promoted in some Publications by Toland.—Claims of Monmouth's Descendants.—Discussed in a Pamphlet by De Foe.—Account of his Work.—Observations upon the Subject.—Proposal for inviting over the Electoral Family.—Recommended by De Foe.—Toland's Pamphlet upon the Subject.—Revival of Republican Politics.—Libels upon King William.—Vindicated by De Foe.—Account of the Free State of Noland.—Vindication of the Friends of Liberty.—The Reign of William distinguished for Free Discussion.—Notice of the Principal Writers who appeared for Liberty.

1701.

THE fifth parliament of King William, in the composition of which De Foe took so deep an interest, assembled February 6, 1700-1, when Mr. Robert Harley, who made so distinguished a figure in the next reign, and was the future patron of De Foe, was chosen Speaker. The Tories had abundant reason to congratulate themselves upon their ascendancy in the Commons, and it would have been well if they had used their triumph with moderation. The little regard they showed for so useful a commodity, was early manifested in the partial decisions upon contested elections, in which much bribery appears to have been resorted to by both parties. But, whilst the unfortunate Whigs were branded with corruption, similar acts of the Tories, were voted deeds of charity! From the influx of French gold that appeared at this time, and from the strong party which that nation had in the Commons, it was strongly suspected that Louis had been practising the same arts in England, which he had used so successfully in other countries. This fact is more than hinted at by De Foe, in one of his pamphlets lately mentioned; and it is rendered credible by the frequent communications of Monsieur Poussin, the French agent, with some members of the late parliament. The bare-faced proceedings in the city of London, so lately denounced by De Foe, formed one of the earliest topics of inquiry in the new parliament; and, if much party-spirit was mixed up with its management, the nation eventually profited by the measure.

By the death of the Duke of Gloucester, son to the Princess Anne, in the preceding July, it became important to provide immediately for the future successor to the throne. That it should be entailed in the Protestant line, was always an important object with William, as the only means of perpetuating the benefits which the nation had reaped from the Revolution. The concern he felt upon this point, is thus pourtrayed by De Foe: "I must take one opportunity more to exalt the memory of the king, and put these nations in mind of the care that prince took, abstracted from his own interest, to settle both the liberties and religion of this island, in spite of all the ill-treatment he met with here. Upon the Revolution, a great deal of clamour and reproach had been levelled at the king, as if he pursued his own interest in taking the crown of England; though I must acknowledge I am at a loss to find out what he gained by it, although I have had opportunities to know something of his majesty's affairs. But sure, nobody could charge him with having an eye to his interest in what should happen after his death. It could be of no moment to him who should enjoy the crown, since he had no children of his own; nor could he expect the succession should come to any branch of his family. Covetousness and ambition may guide princes in their pursuit of honour and possessions to themselves and their families: but when a prince has no family, no relations that can enjoy them after him, it cannot be rational to talk of ambition, or interest, in that case. His majesty's memory is therefore untainted, and even the enemies of his fame are defeated here; for the very pretence fails them. His anxiety for the settlement of the succession, could savour of nothing but a mere concern and respect for the interest, safety, and liberty of the country; and let any man give a more rational account of it if he can."* (1)

In pursuit of the object just mentioned, when the king was upon the continent in the preceding summer, he took a journey to Hanover, and from thence to Zell, that he might concert measures with the Princess Sophia, previously to his bringing it before the English parliament. In his speech at the opening of the session, he enforced the necessity of a further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and pressed it upon the immediate attention of parliament; but it was not brought forward until the third of March. This was owing in a great measure to the disaffection of the Tories, who, retaining their old prejudices in favour of hereditary right, which interest had made them wave at the Revolution, were jealous of its invasion by any new measure. Even the Whigs were so much at variance, that many of them, from a distaste to the king, viewed it with indifference; and there were others who, moved by different motives, would not have been displeased to see the succession left undetermined. Some obstacles also arose from the scruples of the Princess Anne, who not only participated in the sentiments of the Tories, but was further influenced by the ties of consanguinity, which received a fresh impulse by the death of her son. Nothing, therefore, but her proximity to the crown, and the fear of endangering her own succession, could induce her to forego the supposed claims of her own family in favour of a more distant branch. (K)

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* Hist. of the Union, p. 73, 4to edit.

(1) The enemies of William, ever anxious to blast his memory by the vilest means that malice could suggest, propagated a report, that by a secret article in the Treaty of Ryswick, he provided for the succession of James's son, after his own death; than which, a tale more absurd or improbable, was never imposed upon the credulity of man. Yet, it has been revived and reasoned upon with great formality by Mr. Macpherson; but ably refuted by Mr. Somerville, in his "History of Political Transactions during the reign of King William." p. 442—458.

Notwithstanding the impediments thrown in the way of the Protestant succession, by parties that were swayed by different interests, the popular voice being in its favour, they were compelled in decency to adopt it; although the manner in which it was brought forward, plainly indicated that they viewed it with feelings of contempt. "It's observable," says one of our historians, "that a Whig member designed to bring in the bill, which being smoaked by the Speaker, Sir John Bowles, a Tory, and little better than a madman, was employed to present it to the House, who had so little stomach to it, that it hung there above three months before

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(K) In conquering her scruples, the princess was probably assisted by the advice of Marlborough; but that which seems to have had most weight with her, was the address of the king, which is thus described by a contemporary writer: "That he might prevail with the Princess Anne to agree to the entail of the inheritance, he was not displeased to have a rumour spread, as if he was even about to make a cession of the crown to another. He would also hold discourses in public concerning King James and his son; and inquire of those who came from abroad about the person and parts of the boy, and whether he was not a promising youth. The Princess Anne, hearing of these things, and fearing lest King William should resign the kingdom, and restore it to King James and his son, easily agreed with him about the substitution of heirs; but the agreement was necessary to be kept secret till the opinions of all the members of parliament could be known. *Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain*, i. 184, 5.

they passed it; and even then it was sent up so loose to the Lords, that the late bishop of Salisbury, out of the heighth of his zeal for the Protestant succession, was standing up to move for amendments, when a great many of the young lords, by a very signal providence, crying out, *no amendments, no amendments,* it passed without any; and Dr. Newton, one of the Masters in Chancery, was sent with it to the Commons, where there were not many members then sitting. After his admission, he was asked what he had brought them? To which he answered, the Succession Bill: Then, being further interrogated concerning what amendments the Lords had made to it, and he replying, *none at all,* several of the members said aloud, *The Devil take you and your bill.* This," adds Mr. Coke, "the late Lord Somers told to several gentlemen, and particularly to a certain friend of his and mine, from whom I had it; and if I had not known him to be a person of great integrity, I should not have ventured to insert it."*

That the Act of Settlement, which was to provide for the future security of our civil and religious liberties, should be introduced in such a way as to expose it to derision, and that it should be afterwards received with so much coldness and indifference, as amounted to aversion, reflects but little credit upon the disaffected party, that had now the influence of government for its support. As the settlement of the crown presented a favourable opportunity for curtailing the prerogative, Mr. Harley, who assisted in the work of procrastination, suggested the appointment of a committee to consider the provisions of the bill. "He observed, that the haste the nation was in when the present government was settled, had made us overlook many securities which might have prevented much mischief, and therefore hoped they would not now fall into the same error."† To this intent, he proposed that the future sovereign should be fettered by such restrictions as would remedy the evils complained of, and effectually secure the rights of the people. This advice was too plausible to be resisted ; but the subsequent proceedings of the Commons raised a suspicion of their sincerity, and indicated their wish that the further progress of the bill might be defeated by the restrictions with which it was clogged. To preserve the character of the measure, the unfortunate man who introduced it, was placed twice in the chair of the committee, and had to report its proceedings as often to the House. Considering the disposition of the prevailing party, there is less room for surprise that it should contain matter which could be construed only into a personal affront to the sovereign ; but, whatever may have been the design of the promoters, it must be acknowledged, that the limitations which they placed upon the prerogative, were favourable to liberty, and beneficial to the interests of the country. (L)

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* Coke's Detection, iii. 98. † Burnet's Own Times, iii. 374.

As the project for limiting the succession was anxiously entertained by the king, and the better part of the Whigs, it seems most probable, considering the obstacles that were thrown in its way, that it would have found difficulty in passing without the assistance of the Tories ; and it is said to have been the price of their admission to the government. Strange as it may appear, the exiled family had now a strong party in the nation, assisted as well by a personal dislike to

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(L) The restrictions were: 1. That the future sovereign should join in communion with the Church of England. 2. That, in the event of a foreigner succeeding to the throne, the nation should not be involved in a war for the defence of his foreign dominions, without consent of parliament. 3. That the same consent should be necessary to his leaving the kingdom. 4. That all matters transacted in the Privy-Council, should be signed by those who advised them. 5. That no person born out of the kingdom should be of the Privy Council, or a Member of Parliament, or enjoy any office, or have grants of land from the crown. 6. That no person enjoying place or pension from the crown should sit in the House of Commons. 7. That the judges should hold their places during good behaviour. 8. That no pardon under the great seal should be pleadable to an impeachment of the Commons.

the reigning prince, as by the prejudices in favour of hereditary succession. The doctrines that had been so long taught by divines and statesmen, although checked by the Revolution, were far from being extinct; and finding a protector in the Princess, revived with fresh vigour in the next reign. It is matter for surprize, therefore, that legislation should have taken such ample strides in favour of liberty, as it did in the Act of Settlement. Although the Tories had practically departed from the exploded doctrines, they still clung to them in the forms of speech; were jealous of innovations; and having but little sympathy with the revolution-government, they would not have been displeased to see the old line restored, subject to the ascendancy of the church, and their own personal security. The Whigs, on the contrary, had wholly discarded the Stuarts, together with their slavish notions of government; but a personal attachment to William, and respect for his feelings, would have prevented them from originating those limitations of the prerogative, for which the nation is indebted to the country party. As the persons who composed this powerful faction had been trained in the school of liberty, so their desertion from the Whigs did not necessarily involve a change of principles, and in fact produced none. Their opposition to the court was dictated solely by personal motives, as was their junction with the Tories; but as it received a popular direction, they acquired reputation, and the nation reaped the benefit. The memory of this great event is preserved in a picture of Mr. Harley, presenting the bill to the Lords, and drawn from life by Sir Godfrey Kneller.*

When we look at the conduct of the different parties concerned in this transaction, we have a mortifying picture of human nature, disrobed of those qualities that confer greater dignity than is to be obtained by mere eminence of station: for whatever value may be affixed to an act of legislation, in which men of opposite politics apparently concurred, the sacrifice of principle that must have been made upon the occasion, forbids us to entertain a very exalted idea of their virtue or patriotism. The junction of Tories and Republicans to despoil the crown of its prerogative, was an anomaly that would scarcely have occurred in any other reign. For these concessions to liberty, there can be no doubt that the principal merit is to be ascribed to Harley, who stole a march upon his monarchical friends; but it is much lessened by those marks of disingenuity which characterised most of the events of his political life. If we may believe the report of a friend, his sincerity in this affair cannot be doubted. "Every body," says Mr. Toland, "began to ominate well to this matter, when a person of such acknowledged learning, and unparalleled ability in parliamentary affairs, as Mr. Harley, was observed occasionally to drop his sentiments about it some days before it came to be the proper business of the house; and, afterwards, one of the members happening to mention our danger from the pretended Prince of Wales, if the succession were left uncertain, the Speaker said, that he hoped in a little time our infamous distinctions and parties, but particularly Jacobitism, should be wholly abolished and extirpated: and, that it was too great honour for that pretended prince to have his name as much mentioned in that assembly."* Whether this was any thing more than political finesse, subsidiary to his ambition, his subsequent conduct furnished too much reason to doubt; and Toland himself lived to entertain a very different opinion of him, as may be seen in his pamphlet, called 'The Art of Restoring; or, the Piety and Probity of General Monk in bringing about the last Restoration, evidenced from his own authentic Letters: With a just Account of Sir Roger, who runs the Parallel as far as he can. In a Letter to a Minister of State at the Court of Vienna. London, 1714."

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* Cunningham, i. 202.

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* Toland's Anglia Libera, p. 50.

By determining the succession, and thereby cutting off the hopes of the Jacobite party, Harley is thought to have had in view the union of the rest, upon common grounds of national feeling, their differences having been greatly narrowed by the limitations in the Act. In support of his project, Toland published, in the early part of 1701, "The Art of governing by Partys; particularly in Religion, in Politics, in Parliament, on the Bench, and in the Ministry; with the ill effects of Partys on the People in general, the King in particular, and all our Foren Affairs; as well as our Credit and Trade, in Peace or War, &c. London, 1701." 8vo. Dedicated to William III., King and Statholder, &c.; Supreme Magistrate of the Two most potent and flourishing Commonwealths in the Universe." This, like most of the author's other works, abounds in solid sense, good feeling, much political information, and a comprehensive acquaintance with the true interests of his country. After the Act for limiting the succession had been passed in the June of that year, Mr. Toland, who was a warm advocate for the measure, published some account of the proceedings connected with it; as also, a vindication of its policy, and reflections upon the influence which it would be likely to produce upon the various parties in the state. His book is intitled, "Anglia Libera: or, the Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England explained and asserted; as grounded on His Majesty's Speech, the Proceedings in Parliament, the Desires of the People, the Safety of our Religion, the Nature of our Constitution, the Balance of Europe, and the Rights of all Mankind. Lond. 1701." 8vo.

Before the affair of the Settlement was disposed of, the subject gave rise to various speculations from the press. Amongst other suggestions started upon the occasion, it was proposed to institute an inquiry into the title of the late

Duke of Monmouth, in order that, if it should be found good, the claims of his descendants might be established in preference to those of a foreigner. In a work that will be hereafter noticed,* a pamphlet written with this design, and intitled, "The Succession discussed," is ascribed to De Foe; and a hint, confirming the suggestion, is given by another of his libellers, in the following lines :—

> "The fam'd succession likewise should appear,
> But he's not void of sense, though void of fear,
> The Settlement is otherwise design'd,
> And Parliaments have chosen to their mind;
> Since Hanover the nation's votes has won,
> And he dares speak no more for Monmouth's son."†

There can be little doubt that the pamphlet here alluded to, is the one bearing the following title: "The Succession to the Crown of England considered. London. Printed in the year 1701." 4to. pp. 38. "The Death of the Duke of Gloucester," observes the writer, "was the first blow which seemed particularly to affect the English, after the conclusion of the peace, which may very justly be accounted a misfortune to the nation. 1. By putting us to the trouble of looking about the world for a successor. 2. By giving pretensions of right to such people as our constitution bars from possessing the crown. And—3. By giving the Scots opportunity again to choose whether they will join in a Settlement with us or no." He tells us he shall not inquire, "much less dictate, what the representatives of England, assembled in Parliament, may or may not think fit to do in the matter of our succession, but shall go on to examine who they are, who, on the expiration of the present settlement, may put in their claims, and in what particular circumstances of right such claimant may now stand, respecting both the constitution and interest of England." In order to this, he runs over the descendants of James the First, and proceeds to name the living claimants, "whose legitimacy is indisputable, and whose titles are just and undeniable, so far as lines and blood give a title to the English crown." Most of these being excluded by their religion, he concludes, that the Elector of Hanover is the next heir.

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* Shortest Way with the Dissenters, &c. Considered, p. 25.

† The True-Born Hugonot, p. 2.

The following passages are in reference to the claims of Monmouth and his descendants. "Charles the Second left no legitimate issue, except one son, James, Duke of Monmouth, whose birth happening in the time of his father's exile, it remained a doubt whether he was legitimate or no; and some people have affirmed the contract of marriage with his mother was reserved, and had been produced to an English parliament, if the Bill of Exclusion had not sunk in the embryo, whereby all those designs proving abortive, the witnesses perished in the general destruction of his party, which from that time, to the death of King Charles II., were banished, drawn into plots, and died by the axe or halter. After the death of King Charles II. the Duke of Monmouth entered England in arms, and published a declaration, not so much founded on his right by birth, as upon the mal-administration of King James, but withal referring the examination of his own legitimacy to a free parliament; but he lost the day and his life; and so the legitimacy of his birth remains undiscovered to this day, and he stands attainted in blood by parliament, as an effectual bar against any claim in his posterity. Besides this, King Charles II. publicly disowned him as legitimate, and declared he was not married to his mother; but still, had there been any authentic proof of the affirmative, I presume that declaration of King Charles had been of small value, especially if the fight at Sedgemoor had favoured him with power to have backed that affirmation with the longest sword; for victory, which gives crowns, takes off attainders, and makes any body legitimate.

"The Duke of Monmouth was a person valued and beloved by the English nation at no indifferent rate. Since Prince Henry, eldest son to King James I., no branch of the royal blood has been so much the darling of the people; of whom Dryden, in his "Absalon and Achitophel," though 'twas a satire upon him, was forced to acknowledge,

> " Of all the royal progeny was none,
> So beautiful, so brave as Absalon !"

His gallantry abroad, his obliging carriage at home, and especially his love to his native country, endeared him to the nation, and his memory is valued by them still. That he fell at last in the same laudable attempt of rescuing this nation from Popery and tyranny, which his present majesty performed afterward with such happy success, was owing to God Almighty's inscrutablé providence; but the undertaking was no less glorious, nor the action the less just; and the memory of that blood which was offered up as a sacrifice for our liberty, ought not to be less dear to us than it would have been if it had been crowned with the same success. His right of succession, and the legitimacy of his birth, were in his declaration remitted to the examination of a free parliament, which free parliament never having been obtained, and that brave English gentleman having been overcome or betrayed, or whatever it was, no man has ever had the courage or honesty to ask the question since, whether his birth was to be proved legitimate or no ?"

To avoid the censure of interfering in that which is the province of the legislature, De Foe says, "I do nowhere enter into the merit of the cause, however I may be convinced myself of the legitimacy of the father, and the right of the son, which, indeed, I never doubted of, *and freely ventured for*. But since in a nation where civil justice is regnant, every English subject has a right to demand relief, if he be injured, it is but equal that inquisition be made into the claim of a person of this figure, and that it only be examined, whether he has any such right? The bare inquiry can do nobody any harm; and the title of other pretenders is not at all lessened by it. "There are some respects," he adds, "in which the person he speaks of has infinitely the advantage of all pretenders. For, if we have any remembrance of the blood of his father, which was poured out by the enemies of the Protestant religion, in defence of that religion, and the English liberty; if we have any remembrance of the bravery and gallantry of his person, and how tenderly the nation loved him; if we have any sense of the many miserable families that perished with him in the same cause, we cannot but give way to the just claim that blood makes, and shew our gratitude to his posterity."

In the following passage, our author probably alludes to himself and Titus Oates. "Since the late happy Revolution, care has been taken to vindicate the honour of some noble families who fell in the same calamities. The sufferings of others have been considered, even to the most contemptible persons of F (oe) and Dr. O (ates), and several of the remnants of that little army have been provided for and preferred. We see those who joined with the Duke of Monmouth rewarded with honours, preferments, and trusts, both by court and country, and their early zeal for the Protestant religion approved, so as they have had considerable commands in our Protestant armies. But what gratitude this nation has expressed, either to the memory, blood, or posterity of that noble victim, I profess myself at a loss to find out. A declaration, either of his legitimate right, or of his eminent interest in the hearts of the English nation, so as to establish the crown in his posterity, would abundantly compensate the sufferings of his family, and leave an honourable testimony to future ages, both of the merit of his father, and of the gratitude of the English nation."

Our author thus concludes: "And if this cause cannot be cleared up, nor the English crown go this way, yet something methinks, should be thought on to restore the blood and honour of a gentleman who laid them both down for the liberty and religion of his country. And this I cannot but add, that what is said here is so far from a mixture of interest and parties, that the author hereof is not known to either the person or family of the present Earl of Dalkeith, or any of his relations or dependants. Nor is it wrote to promote any faction or party, but honestly designed to put us in mind of the merits of that noble person, for whom once the whole nation had so great an esteem, that 'tis strange how it should come to be so much forgotten."

Upon this extraordinary production I shall only observe, that as the claims of Monmouth had then but few supporters, the public mind being satisfied upon this subject, so it was thought unnecessary to agitate it by a formal investigation of their merits. Besides, there was a legal document in existence, drawn up in 1679, containing a solemn declaration made by the king in council, and enrolled in chancery, that he was not married to the Duke's mother. This instrument, however, notwithstanding its solemnity, and the respectability of the witnesses, would be of small value in the eyes of Monmouth's friends, upon account of the influence under which it was obtained, coupled with the known insincerity of the king, and the little dependance that was to be placed upon his most solemn oaths. In reference to the Duke's legitimacy, Mr. Rose observes, that the only instances which have been met with of any thing like an acknowledgment that Charles II. was married to Mrs. Walters, are in two letters to him from the Princess of Orange, written in 1655, and preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, in which he directly refers to her as his *wife.**

The following incident in relation to this affair, partakes of the mystery in which the king so largely indulged. After the fall of Clarendon, Buckingham, the new favourite,

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* Rose's Observations on Fox's History: Hume's Nar. p. 13, *n.*

"pressed the king to prove a marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and undertook to procure witnesses to prove it. The then Earl of Carlisle offered to bring the matter into the House of Lords, to which the king would not agree; yet he put it off in such a manner, as made them all conclude he wished it might be done, though he knew not how to bring it about. These discourses being carried to the Duke of Monmouth, got fatally into his head, and the Duke of York frequently calling him nephew, gave him but too much countenance, though he said he did it to please the king."* Whatever motives the Duke might have to credit the marriage of his mother, he seems to have been sincere in his belief. In Sir Patrick Hume's "Narrative of Occurrences in the Expedition of the Earl of Argyle, in 1685," published by Mr. Rose, he records the following conversation which he had with Monmouth, a little before he undertook his expedition. "I urged further," says Sir Patrick, "if he considered himself as lawful son of King Charles last deceased? He said he did. I asked if he was able to make out and prove the marriage of his mother to the King Charles? He answered, He had been able lately to prove the marriage, and if some persons are not lately dead, of which he would inform himself, he would yet be able to prove it." Yet, in the paper left behind him at his execution, he makes the following avowal: "For the satisfaction of the world, I do declare, that the late king told me, he was never married to my mother."† Upon the whole, it may be observed, that the proofs of Monmouth's legitimacy have never been satisfactorily made out; and although no reliance is to be placed upon Charles's testimony, yet, his solemn avowal in this case has so far decided the question, that no one, since the time of De Foe, has started any doubts upon the subject.

As soon as the business of the succession was brought to a conclusion, a project was entertained by some persons, for inviting the electoral family into England, in order that they might become acquainted with the people whom they were hereafter to govern. Suggestions of this nature were thrown out in parliament, perhaps, more from factious than any purer motives; but there were some who viewed it as a measure of policy, founded upon dictates of prudence. De Foe was amongst the latter, and gives the following sensible reasons for his opinion.

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* Secret Hist. of England, ii. 69.

† Fox's James ii. p. 266.

“ Since those gentlemen who are so fond of the electiveness of our kingdom, make it much their business to find fault with foreigners, only because they are so, as if no man were fit to govern the English nation, but what was born here ; I cannot but consider one thing in answer to that, in order to satisfy those people, and that is, that in case the settlement of the crown of England should be declared by parliament in favour of any of the princes of the House of Hanover, that prince may be invited over to reside amongst us, to inform himself of our customs, laws, and way of living, to be acquainted with persons and things, to see the temper and genius of the nation, and to be fully instructed in the nature of our constitution, and the interests of the nation as to trade, abroad and at home, that by his presence he may become familiar to the people, and be beloved by them. It is not an easy matter for a prince, with all the advantages of birth and education, to accommodate himself to the government of this great people ; and he that shall come from abroad, will find innumerable disadvantages in the nice articles of government. He will be more liable to mistakes and false steps in the choice of his counsellors, for want of the knowledge of men ; and in the choice of his measures, for want of the knowledge of things ; more liable to mistake himself, and above all, much more likely to be mistaken by us : For, the natural ill-humour of the nation with respect to foreigners, will magnify every thing to his disadvantage. The

English are a jealous nation, particularly as to the encroachments of their princes upon their liberties. 'Tis true, they are to be excused in some measure, from the danger and ruin they have more than once been in upon that account; but this will be allowed to make them not altogether so easy to their princes as otherwise they might have been: And, let the person who shall succeed be owner of never so much candour and honesty, he will have need of all the first to oblige them, and all the last to preserve himself."*

The declining state of the king's health in the early part of the following year, occasioned the subject to be revived by Toland, who had been received with favour at the court of Hanover, and warmly supported it in a pamphlet, intitled, "Reasons for Addressing his Majesty to invite into England their Highnesses the Electress Dowager, and the Electoral Prince of Hanover: and likewise, Reasons for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any claim, right, or title, from the late King James and Queen Mary. With Arguments for making a vigorous War against France. Lond. 1702." Toland says, that "While the Bill of Succession was under the consideration of parliament, but especially after the act had past, all the discourse of the town and kingdom was about the coming over of the Princess Sophia, as they usually style her Highness. To this they were universally inclined, by reason of their affection to a person so famous for all kinds of virtues, for her great experience, her extraordinary learning and wit, and for her gracious familiarity, affability, and easiness of access, which are qualities that seldom meet in those of her high rank and dignity." The measure was strongly opposed by the Tories, as calculated to produce jealousy and rivalship with the immediate heir; but principally as it would form a counterbalance to their influence with the Princess, who was known to be entirely in their interest. The colouring they gave to it may be seen in a party-publication that will be hereafter referred to.*

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* The Succession to the Crown of England considered, p. 22, 23.

If we are to credit some of the writers of the time, there was a strong party, both in and out of parliament, that retained an aversion to monarchy, and derived fresh vigour from the recent failure in the line of succession. These stood up for a commonwealth, " and asserted that foreigners can acquire no right, as not only differing from us in language, customs, manners, and laws, but governing without law, by their own arbitrary will, and supporting themselves with standing armies. Among these, one of the chief was the Lord Spencer, who, at that time, gave himself wholly up to the collecting of books, and Fletcher's republican politics."† In conformity with their designs, they were secretly averse to any further extension of the Act of Settlement; and it is asserted, that some were even desirous to set aside the Princess Anne, in order that, the succession being left open to rival claimants, they might have the chance of establishing a commonwealth in the conflict. Amongst other proofs adduced in support of the charge, was a pamphlet written " by a celebrated hand of that party," in which the Salic Law, which excluded females from the throne of France, was recommended for adoption in England.‡ The work here alluded to, was, " An Essay upon the Present Interest of England;" by George Stepney, the poet and statesman, who was employed upon several embassies in this reign. His pamphlet, which was principally intended to support the foreign policy of William, will be noticed hereafter.

The enemies of William, always industrious in propagating reports to his prejudice, openly asserted that he was accessory to the designs of the republicans, and even to the project for setting aside the Princess. To give greater currency to the slander, the pens of Drake, Davenant, and others, were employed to publish it to the world, and to invent a string of motives for the persons who were engaged in the supposed plot.* A more stupid charge, however, was never invented; and when coupled with the report that William intended the son of James for his successor, can be considered only as the offspring of malice, too absurd to impose upon any one whose mind was not previously prepared for its reception. De Foe, alluding to some of these silly tales, says, "I remember a piece of nonsense like this in the time of the late glorious King William, when some men, who pretended to be always cavilling at what that great prince did, would, to carry on their ridiculous prejudices, allow, that King William was in a plot with the French king to bring in King James. When the king once was told some of their ridiculous imaginations, his majesty smilingly said, "They had either very dull, or very deep thoughts about him."† The breath had no sooner departed from the king's body, than these slanders were revived with additional virulence, and it was even asserted that, amongst his papers, some documents were found to confirm them. As such reports were calculated to injure the memory of the king, and had been spread with great industry amongst the people, the lords thought it necessary to inquire into them, and appointed a committee of their house to inspect the papers. The result was as satisfactory as might have been expected; and drew forth a strong censure from the Lords, with an order for the prosecution of the libellers.

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* Caveat against the Whigs. Part iv., p. 17, &c.

† Cunningham, i. 201. ‡ Caveat against the Whigs. Part iv., p. 20.

In reference to the charges that were brought forward against the friends of liberty, it may be amusing to cite a passage from a Tory writer of the time, and the rather for his account of a work now but little known, and erroneously ascribed to De Foe. "To what end," says he, "can we think the works of the most violent republicans, such as Milton, Ludlow, Harrington, and Sidney, were published in the latter end of King William's reign; some of them under the avowed patronage of the chief magistrate of the City of London, and their title-pages affixed to the gates of the royal palaces, as if it were done in open defiance of monarchy? (M) To what purpose could several new advocates appear in the same cause? From which heap I shall pick one pamphlet, which was printed in the year 1701, when the king's state of health made all people apprehend that his life could not be of long continuance.

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* Caveat against the Whigs. Part iv., p. 12.

† Review, vii. 419.

"The author, like a young Columbus, has discovered a new country, situate beyond the line, being part of the great southern continent, or *Terra Australis incognita*, which, though it be little known to the rest of the world, by reason of the mists and fogs which lie almost continually before the coast, yet the people have found means to know the world, and are well skilled in the arts and learning of Europe. It seems, this NOLAND very much resembles England, both in soil and climate, and, though it may seem incredible, the inhabitants are of the same religion, speak the same language, have the English laws, and their government was exactly conformable to the monarchy of England, till the royal line failing, they became a free state. For, when their last king *died suddenly without heirs*, which also happened in an interval of parliament, the peers met with speed, at the usual place, and gave notice to the members of the last House of Commons to meet there likewise. The great business was to choose a new king, and they unanimously concurred in the choice of one called *Aristæus*. Whether this *Aristæus* was a *Hollander* or a *Nolander* does not appear; but by the character, Germany seems to have

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(M) Harrington's "Oceana," re-published by Toland, in the year 1700, under the patronage of Harley, was dedicated "To the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Councilmen of London."

no claim to him, and perhaps it would not be an easy matter to find him out. (N)

"He is here described as a man of the highest quality, a person most accomplished in every respect, who had been the late king's chief minister and favourite, to the great satisfaction and delight of the whole kingdom. But this excellent person seriously excused himself, and would by no means accept the crown. He advised them rather to keep the power in their own hands, and to settle themselves in the happy and glorious condition of a free state. He told them, that both he and the late king (who was the best of men, and a true lover of his people) had long considered and advised about such a government, and had digested it for them. A government wherein all such degrees should find their account, and feel their condition bettered, should be enriched, advanced, and adorned with the spoils of a monarchy, and should have those advantages shared amongst them, which, in a monarchy, are engrossed and swallowed up by one man; where the peers (who, you must know, are now become the white boys of the faction) would be in greater splendour and honour; where the gentlemen would have a mighty increase of dignity, and where trade and the learned professions would have a high encouragement; where also the meaner sort, by their right of suffrage in elections, would oblige the great ones to treat them kindly, and without any appearance of insolence or oppression. But he chiefly insisted on the great strength which this government would give them against foreign enemies, that the nation would be infinitely stronger in a well-ordered free state, than under a monarchy, especially a mixed one. Telling them further, that this was the more needful, in regard to the great power of their enemies; that the neighbouring idolaters, who were furiously bent to de-

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(N) By Aristæus, the author clearly points to Lord Somers.

stroy the Christians, were very potent, especially one overgrown absolute monarch, who was ready to devour all that part of the world, so that it greatly concerned them to provide for a vigorous opposition. And the author confirms these sentiments of *Aristæus*, by a passage out of one of Cardinal Mazarine's letters, magnifying the formidable power of the republick of England, above that of their king's, which letter was writ at the time of the Pyrenean treaty, when the long parliament was yet in being.

"The meaning of all this needs no explanation. We may indeed be as much at a loss among the ministers of a prince, who was then likely in a short time to die without heirs, for a man that deserved Aristæus's character, as for a *Cato* among our late discarded patriots. But, perhaps, it would not be so hard to find more than one who had the pretended *Aristæus's* design in their heads, so far forth at least as confusion might serve their turn. And this I believe was in truth the bottom of all their pretended zeal for the House of Hanover: they thought the contending parties would not peaceably unite under one head, if there were an opportunity of ranging under different banners; and by these concussions they thought to shake the monarchy in pieces, and out of its ruins to erect a government according to their own model."*

The title of the work here animadverted upon, is "The Free State of Noland; Or the Frame and Constitution of that Happy, Noble, Powerful, and Glorious State. In which all sorts and Degrees of People find their Condition Bettered. London: Printed for D. Brown, at the Black Swan and Bible, without Temple-bar, and sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick Lane. MDCCI." 4to. pp. 61. At the conclusion of the tract, a second part is promised in these terms; but I know not whether it was ever published. "In due time these things will be added: 1. A more particular account of their Administration and Distribution of Law and Justice. 2. Their Splendid and Noble Militia: with some Standing Forces, not in the least Endangering the Public Liberty. 3. Their effectual laws and orders for maintaining and repairing the Highways, (which formerly were the shame, but now are the glory of their country;) and for maintaining and employing their Poor. With some other things." Although the work is artfully written, yet I have no doubt, from the strain of some passages, that the author was an enemy in disguise, and intended by a *ruse-de-guerre*, to hold up the advocates of a "free state" to derision. The design, however, is so well concealed, that it imposed upon the Tories, who brought it forward as a triumphant proof against William and the Whigs, whom they charged with a plot for establishing a commonwealth. As such, it is referred to by Dr. Drake, in vindication of what he had advanced in a work that fell under the censure of the Lords. Alluding to Noland, he says, "The scheme offered in this pamphlet, is extracted from Harrington's *Oceana*, which, with Sydney's *Discourses upon Government*, and other books of the same stamp, have of late years been ushered into the world with too much pomp and solemnity, for us to believe that it was intended they should be looked upon as books affording matter of idle speculation only."*

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* Caveat against the Whigs, Part iii. p. 24—27.

Whatever abstract theories of government may have been formed by speculative men, the reign of William was of too mild a character, and too nearly allied to liberty, to encourage any project for the abolition of royalty. In fact, the persons aimed at, were not so much in the pursuit of forms, as of the essence. The liberty they had so long contended for at the hazard of their lives, had been achieved in part by the Revolution, and was extended and secured nearly to the extent of their wishes, by various acts passed in this reign, particularly by the act of settlement, which had their hearty concurrence. The term republican, therefore, was affixed to them rather as a name of reproach, and to distinguish them from others, who were for exalting the prerogative, and for trampling upon the rights and liberties of the people.

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* Source of our Fears Discovered, p. 17.

The reign of William was eminently the triumph of free discussion. To the various publications that issued from the press, in which the principles of government were freely debated, the cause of liberty owed great obligations; for, as they appeared under respectable patronage, and obtained a wide circulcation, so the just sentiments they contained, and the cogent arguments by which they were supported, could not fail to instruct the people upon those subjects in which they were deeply interested, as the citizens of a free state. The enlightened notions advanced in some of these works, which stripped the various forms of government of their pretensions to a divine original, and traced them to the consent of the people; and the assertion of natural rights, which entitle them to the protection of equitable laws as a rule of government, binding equally upon magistrates and sobjects; as they were doctrines at variance with those which had been propogated by court-parasites, under the dominion of the Stuarts, so they were severely censured by the same men as anti-monarchical in their tendency, and subversive of social order. The Revolution, however, had sanctioned their validity, independently of any arguments drawn from reason, and the propriety of fixing such a basis for government was fully justified by the practical consequences which had resulted from the slavish system of its opponents. It was, therefore, with an ill-grace, that the abettors of passive obedience and divine right brought forward the charge of republicanism against those writers, who justly retorted upon them the ill-effects of their own system, as terminating in both mental and bodily slavery.

In the band of illustrious men who brought their learning and talents to bear upon the subject, the first place is to be assigned to the immortal Locke. This great man, whose capacious mind enabled him to grasp the profoundest points of human enquiry, published in the year after the Revolution, his "First Letter concerning Toleration," which was followed at different intervals by three others upon the same subject; in which he pleaded the cause of religious liberty with a strength of argument that could not be overthrown. With the noble design of rescuing the civil rights of mankind from the yoke that had been placed upon them by former writers, he published in 1690, his "Two Treatises of Government," in which he successfully attacked the patriarchal scheme of Sir Robert Filmer, and pointed out with a force of reasoning not to be resisted, the true origin, extent, and objects of civil government. And, notwithstanding the attempts of subsequent writers to impeach his arguments, they have stood the test of inquiry, and will endear his name to the friends of liberty, as one of its most enlightened advocates.

Besides the writings of Locke, the reign of William, who owed his title to the principles laid down in his Treatises, produced a variety of other works, suited to the circumstances of the times, and calculated as well to establish the Revolution upon the basis of argument, as to enlarge the boundaries of civil and religious liberty. Sydney's "Discourses concerning Government," of which the first edition was published by Mr. Toland, in 1698, are alone sufficient to confer splendour upon the period, and furnish an imperishable memorial, no less of the abilities of the writer, than of his devotedness to a cause in which he fell with a dignity and resolution that became so distinguished a martyr. The prose writings of Milton, which were calculated to subserve the same object, as well as to unfold the great mind of the writer, were collected together and reprinted about the same time, with a good narrative of his life, by the editor of Sydney; who also obliged the world, not long afterwards, with an edition of "The Commonwealth of Oceana," by James Harrington. The reputation which had been already acquired by these writers, occasioned their works to be much read, and the generous principles they advocated, produced a deep as well as lasting impression upon the nation. By associating his name with these illustrious individuals, Toland raised a durable monument to his fame; but his own contributions to the cause of liberty, as an original writer, were neither few nor inconsiderable. His solid attainments, united with extensive reading, enabled him to pour forth the stores of an acute and vigorous mind, in a variety of political pieces, designed to enforce the same principles, and breathing all the ardour of an ancient Roman.

Amongst the writers who distinguished themselves at this period, a conspicuous place is to be assigned to Lord Somers, whose ample learning was only equalled by his integrity. Another lawyer, who explored the ancient records of his country, with a design to establish the original freedom of our political institutions, was James Tyrrell, who, besides his "Political Dialogues," in which he fully investigates the nature of our constitution, was the author of a valuable work, illustrating the early times of our general history. Bishop Burnet and Julian Johnson, two opposing ecclesiastics of different merits, concurred to vindicate the Revolution in many able pamphlets, which were all subservient to the main cause. Ludlow and Trenchard, also enlisted their pens in the service; as did Charles Blount and Dr. Tindal, who ably asserted the freedom of the press. To these may be added, Dr. Welwood, a respectable physician, but most known as a political writer, particularly for his valuable historical "Memoirs for the last hundred years preceding the Revolution." And in recording the praises of these champions of liberty, it would be ungrateful to omit the services of De Foe, who taught his countrymen, that "a life of bondage and slavery is that which mankind, by nature, abhors;" that "liberty makes nations thrive, people great, a country pleasant, and nature fruitful; for liberty encourages industry, whilst sloth and slavery go hand in hand, and encourage each other:" also, that "the happiness of free nations does not consist merely in the liberties and privileges they enjoy, but in the sense they have of the excellency and use of those privileges, and the taste they have for liberty itself."[*]

If any apology be necessary for recording the services of those illustrious men, who, animated by a love of country, marked out the purest sources of her prosperity, it is furnished by one of the writers above-mentioned: for, "that nations should be well informed of their rights, is of the most absolute necessity; because the happiness or infelicity of any people entirely depends upon the enjoyment or deprivation of liberty. And it may be truly said, that unless men have utterly abandoned themselves to all that is detestable, they have seldom attempted to detract from the worth of the assertors of liberty, though ambition and other passions have influenced them to act in opposition to it."[†]

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[*] Review, vi. 226. ii. 671. viii. 262.

[†] Toland's Pref. to Sydney on Government.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Intemperate Proceedings in Parliament.—The Partition Treaty condemned.—Several Whig Lords impeached.—Partiality of the Commons.—The Lords dismiss the Impeachments.—Breach between the Two Houses.—Conduct of the King.—Events favorable to a Change in the Public Feeling.—Swift's Discourse on the Contests and Dissentions in Athens.—De Foe sounds the Alarm.—Account of the Kentish Petition.—Notice of William Colepeper.—Intemperate Proceedings of the Commons.—The Kentish Gentlemen taken into Custody.—Their brutal Treatment.—Committed to the Gate-House.—Kindness of the Keeper.—Their Popularity.—Wailings of a Tory Writer.—De Foe's Legion Letter.—History of its Presentation.—The Letter to the Speaker.—Copy of the Memorial.—Its Effect upon the Commons.—Release of the Kentish Petitioners.—They Dine with the Citizens at Mercers' Hall.—De Foe present.—Tory Account of the Entertainment.—Their Departure from London.—Honours received upon their Journey.—Account of Mr. Polhill.—Publications arising out of the Event.—De Foe's History of the Kentish Petition.—Jura Populi Anglicani.—Pamphlets against Legion.

1701.

WHATEVER credit the parliament might have acquired by the late measure relating to the succession, it was quickly lost by the intemperance of its proceedings. Nor was the cordiality between the king and his ministers of any long continuance. The partition treaty, although it was never fulfilled, had been, from the time of its negociation, a favorite subject for crimination with the Tories; and having a decided majority in the Commons, they determined to pour their vengeance upon its authors. With the people at large, the treaty was not popular; as well from its being a measure of the king's contrivance and conducted in secrecy, as from their inability to reconcile its objects with English policy. In the debates upon the subject, the most violent language was employed in its condemnation; and some of the members did not scruple to cast reflections upon the king that were personally offensive. Both houses presented addresses expressive of their opinions, but the language of the Lords was most temperate and respectful. Without canvassing the policy of the treaty, which was suggested by a choice of evils, and fairly open to the discussion of parliament, it may be remarked, that the points selected for attack, savoured rather of jealousy and faction than any purer motives. But the spirit of party was most decidedly displayed in the Commons, where it was determined to sacrifice the leading Whigs to the pride and resentment of their opponents. For this purpose a committee was appointed from amongst the most violent members, to prepare articles of impeachment against the Earls of Portland and Orford, and Lords Somers and Halifax; and an address was presented to the king to dismiss them from his councils for ever. (o)

Had there been any reasonable ground for this proceeding, which, indeed, the authors of it were never able to make out, yet, the notorious partiality with which it was conducted, is sufficient to stamp it with dishonour, and to entail lasting opprobrium upon the men who devised it. Whatever blame attached to the treaty, the Earl of Jersey was entitled to as large a share of it as Lord Portland; but having now joined the Tories, it was a sufficient reason for passing him over. Several other peers, as well as commoners, were also equally implicated, and as little disposed to shrink from inquiry. The Earl of Pembroke resolutely told the Lords, "he had offered the king those advices that he thought were most for his service, and for the good of the nation; and that he did not think himself bound to give an account of that to any other person." If the late ministers deserved impeachment for a measure in which they do not appear to have been much consulted, impartiality required that the whole should have been included; but the malignity of the Tories was directed only against the king's personal friends, whose abilities rendered them formidable rivals; and they thought by disgracing them, to establish themselves, and put an end for ever to their influence. Lord Haversham having reflected upon the gross partiality of the Commons, they passed some violent resolutions against him; and, throughout the whole business, discovered the *furor* of men stung by madness, and violently impelled by malice and revenge. The Lords, more cool and dispassionate in their proceedings, addressed the king not to prejudge the case of their impeached members by any previous act. Convinced, also, of the frivolous nature of the charges, and tired out by the dilatoriness of the Commons, nor less provoked by their insolence, they proceeded to the trial of Lord Somers, whom they speedily acquitted; and finally, upon the last day of the session, dismissed the other impeachments.

(o) "These were all good men, and the three last were of remarkable abilities and experience. Lord Somers was the general patron of the *literati;* the Earl of Orford had been considered in a manner as lord high admiral, the whole affairs of the navy having been committed to his charge; Lord Halifax had a fine genius for poetry, and had employed his more youthful part of life in that science."—*Orrery's Life of Swift,* p. 93.

The opposite temper displayed in the proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, gave rise to those angry feelings which vented themselves in mutual recriminations, and were a great impediment to the public business. Of these animosities the king was by no means an unconcerned spectator, although utterly destitute of any power to allay them. Chagrined at the opposition to his projects for curtailing the power of France, and mortified by the personal affronts that were daily heaped upon him, he grew wholly distrustful of public men, and resolved to smother his feelings by assuming an indifference to public affairs, until some favorable occurrence should call them into active exercise. It was not long before such an event presented itself. In the early part of the session, an intercepted letter from the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Duke of Perth, conveyed the intelligence of large armaments preparing in France, and that James, encouraged by the divided and defenceless state of England, intended to take advantage of it by renewing his menace of an invasion. This naturally spread an alarm in the nation, which the turbulence of the Commons was not calculated to allay. The peaceable succession of the Duke of Anjou, and the consequent extension of the power of France, increased the dismay, until the nation was aroused to a sense of its danger, and William had the satisfaction of witnessing an ebullition of sentiment that corresponded with his own. Bishop Burnet, in describing the state of public feeling, says; the measures of the Commons "gave a general disgust to all England, more particularly to the city of London, where foreign affairs, and the interest of trade, were generally better understood. They saw visibly that first the ruin of trade, and then, as a consequence of that, the ruin of the nation must certainly ensue, if France and Spain were once firmly united; so they began openly to condemn the proceedings of the Commons, and to own a jealousy, that the *louis d'ors* sent hither of late, had not come over to England for nothing. This disposition to blame the slowness in which the House of Commons proceeded with relation to foreign affairs, and the heat with which private quarrels were pursued, began to spread itself through the whole nation."*

It was upon this occasion that Swift produced the first, and by far the most valuable of his political works, intitled,

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* Burnet's Own Time, iii. 380, 1.

"A Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome; with the Consequences they had upon both those States. Lond. 1701." The author had not then connected himself with any political party, but wrote his work from an apprehension that the balance of the constitution, which had been some time in a fluctuating state, was in danger of being destroyed by the rising of the popular scale, and to be succeeded by anarchy; he therefore warned the public against the fatal consequences of these encroachments, and illustrated his argument by the most striking examples from other states.* The four impeached lords are described under Athenian names. Phocion, is the Earl of Portland; Aristides, Lord Somers; Themistocles, the Earl of Orford; and Pericles, the Earl of Halifax. In drawing the reader's attention to their merits, he says, "I shall direct him no farther than by repeating, that Aristides was the most renowned by the people themselves for his exact justice and knowledge in the law; that Themistocles was a most fortunate admiral, and had got a mighty victory over the great King of Persia's fleet; that Pericles was an able minister of state, an excellent orator, and a man of letters; and, lastly, that Phocion, besides the success of his arms, was also renowned for his negotiations abroad, having, in an embassy, brought the greatest monarch of the world, at that time, to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preserved."

Towards the conclusion of his work, Swift alludes to the altered state of the public feeling, and to the rough manner in which it was exhibited. He exhorts the Commons "to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England,—which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent. To observe, how those whom they thought fit to persecute for righteousness' sake, have been openly caressed by the people;* and to remember how themselves sate in fear of their persons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the secret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *masters,* they must not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuse, of setting individuals upon their shoulders who were hated by God and man. For, it seems, the mass of the people, in such conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by *Clodius* and *Curio,* at the head of their myrmidons, though these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own representatives." Swift observes, that this aversion of the people might be imputed to two causes; the first is, an universal fear and apprehension of the greatness and power of France, whereof the people in general seem to be very much and justly possessed, and therefore cannot but resent to see it in so critical a juncture, wholly laid aside by their *ministers,* the Commons. The other cause, is a great love and sense of gratitude in the people towards their present king, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires; so that it is for some time they have begun to say, and to fetch instances where he has in many things been hardly used. How long these humours may last, (for passions are momentary, and especially those of a multitude), or what consequences they may produce, a little time may discover. But whenever it comes to pass, that a popular assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possessed of more power than an equal balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by impeachments or dissensions with the nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see, in the common course of things, how the same causes can produce different effects and consequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome."

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* Sheridan's Life of Swift, p. 33.

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* Swift here alludes to the Kentish Petitioners.

The danger which was now become so apparent, had been contemplated by De Foe several months before, and he had called upon his countrymen in energetic language to prepare for it. But the voice of faction prevented his being then heard; and now that the cloud had thickened, he again thundered the alarm in a tone still more forcible, and with better success. The incident that led to it produced a considerable noise at the time, and materially assisted in effecting a revolution in public opinion. This was the famous Kentish Petition, which made so great a noise in parliament, and occupied the public attention during several months.

The freeholders of the county of Kent, in common with the rest of their countrymen, had viewed with great dissatisfaction the slow proceedings in parliament; connected as they were with a vexatious hostility to the king, and a reluctance to second his designs in providing for the national safety. It was also observed, that the country people partook of the same feeling, and had begun to say to each other, "that they had sown their corn, and the French were coming to reap it." Under this impression, some of the principal freeholders of the county, thought it high time to lay their apprehensions before the parliament, and, as the Quarter-sessions were to be held at Maidstone, the 29th of April, they resolved to apply to the magistrates for that purpose. This design being communicated to the chairman, Mr. William Colepeper, of Hollingburn, he intimated that it was more properly the business of the grand jury, with whom it rested to present the grievances of the county. The jury being then sitting, they were applied to accordingly, and readily acquiesced in the measure, but desired the concurrence and assistance of the bench of justices, which were not withheld. The chairman was then requested to draw the petition, which being read and approved, was ordered to the grand jury, who signed it unanimously, being twenty-one in number. It was then signed by the chairman and twenty-three justices; and the freeholders crowded in so fast, that the parchment was filled up in less than five hours. De Foe says, that many thousand hands might have been had to it, if the justices had been so inclined; but they refused to add any more rolls of parchment, insisting more upon the merits of the petition, than the number of names to it. The grand jury then committed it to the care of Mr. Colepeper, requesting him to get it presented, in their names, to the Commons, which he readily undertook to do.(p)

Mr. Colepeper arrived in London, Tuesday, the 6th of May, accompanied by his kinsman, Thomas Colepeper, David Polhill, Justinian Champneys, and William Hamilton, Esquires, all gentlemen of family and consideration in the county, who volunteered their services upon the occasion. The following day, they proceeded with the petition to the Commons, but found some difficulty in procuring a member to take charge of it. Sir Thomas Hales, one of the members for the county, to whom they first applied, acted a very dishonourable part, by communicating its contents to several members of the House, contrary to his solemn promise, and at last, after several appointments, by refusing to present it. Recourse was had next to Mr. Meredith, the other member for Kent, who behaved in a more honourable manner, although he was at first awed by the violence exhibited in the House. For, the substance of the petition having got vent, it was already made a subject of debate; in the course of which, some of the leading members, distinguished by their acrimony and hatred to King William, declared, that if it was presented, an example should be made of the gentlemen who were its bearers, that their estates should be confiscated, and that a double tax should be imposed upon the whole county. The intemperate language employed upon this occasion, fully denoted the high-hand with which the prevailing faction in parliament meant to govern the nation. Mr. Meredith did not fail to report the tenor of it to the gentlemen concerned, telling them that the House was in such a ferment, that no one would venture to speak for it; and several members recommended that it should be waved altogether. The Kentish deputies, however, were far from being terrified by these menaces, and unanimously declared their resolution to discharge the trust committed to them, *and to present it to the House.* Mr. William Colepeper, in particular, declared, (in allusion to Luther's saying when dissuaded from going to Worms), "That if every tile upon the chapel of St. Stephens was a devil, he would present the petition." In the same spirit, they all avowed, "That if none of the members would do their country so much service as to present their grievances to parliament in a legal petition, they would knock at the door of the House, and deliver it themselves." Mr. Meredith perceiving their resolution, consented to present the petition, which he did on the 8th of May, discharging his trust with great discretion and fidelity.(Q)

(p) Mr. Colepeper was a personal friend of De Foe, and had a high opinion of his character, as well as a value for his writings. He was himself an author, having published "A Heroick Poem upon the King. Humbly presented to the Queen. By William Colepeper, Esq. London: Printed for Daniel Brown, at the Bible without Temple Bar. 1694." Folio. Early in the next reign he had some difference with Sir George Rooke, of which an account was drawn up and published, either by himself, or by De Foe. He died at Hollingborne, in Kent, in 1726, and lies buried in the church there. By his wife, Elizabeth, he left three sons, and three daughters.

(Q) The following is a copy of the Petition. "To the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled. The humble petition of the Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Grand Jury, and other Freeholders, at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, holden at Maidstone, the 29th of April, in the 13th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King William III., over England, &c.

The language of the Kentish petition was that of strong remonstrance. It boldly told the Commons, that the nation would be served better by their attending more to the public concerns, and less to their private dissensions. In the fire already kindled by their passions, such a reproof added fuel to the flame. Enraged at the contents of the petition, they summoned the five gentlemen to their bar, where a few formal questions were put to them by the Speaker, in a haughty tone, when they were commanded to withdraw, and await the order of the House. A furious debate, which lasted five hours, then ensued; in the course of which it was intimated, "That imprisonment and the ruin of their fortunes and families, was the least they had to expect. Impeachments, laws *ex post facto*, tacking them to money-bills, and all arbitrary methods, which any arbitrary parliament had ever made use of to ruin those who have felt their indignation, were set before them." In the mean time, many attempts were made to procure their submission, but without

"We, the Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Grand Jury, and other Freeholders, at the General Quarter Sessions at Maidstone in Kent, deeply concerned at the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and considering that the fate of us and our posterity depends upon the wisdom of our representatives in parliament, think ourselves bound in duty humbly to lay before this Honourable House, the consequences, in this conjuncture, of your speedy resolutions, and most sincere endeavours, to answer the great trust reposed in you by your country. And in regard, that from the experience of all ages, it is manifest no nation can be happy without union, we hope that no pretence whatsoever shall be able to create a misunderstanding between ourselves, or the least distrust of his majesty, whose great actions for this nation, are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot. We most humbly implore this Honourable House to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for; that your loyal addresses may be turned into Bills of Supply, and that his most sacred Majesty (whose propitious and unblemished reign over us, we pray God long to continue), may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it be too late. And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

"Signed by all the Deputy Lieutenants then present, above twenty Justices of the Peace, all the Grand Jury, and other Freeholders then there."

effect, for whilst they disclaimed any intentional offence to the House, they remained firm to the subject-matter of their petition, and were satisfied to shield themselves under the protection of the law. At the conclusion of the debate, the Commons voted, " That the petition was scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the Constitution of Parliament, and to subvert the established government of this realm." These were big words, and might with propriety have been reserved for a more important occasion.

The five gentlemen were now ordered to be taken into custody, and immediately surrendered themselves to the Serjeant at Arms. Whilst under the care of this officer, they not only wanted necessary accommodations, but were used with the greatest insolence. " The treatment they had from him was very singular, and shewed that they were under the high displeasure of the House; for, when he accidentally saw two of them talk together, he drew his sword upon his deputy for permitting it: and, when upon one of those gentlemen's demanding a copy of their commitment (which they reckoned they had a title to by virtue of the Habeas Corpus Act), and his refusing it, the gentleman said, he hoped the law would do him justice ; his reply was, that *he cared not a f— for the law.* The reverence of the law, observes Lord Somers, is fallen very low indeed, when one who has the honour of being a servant to the House of Commons, can presume to make so bold with it. In his custody they continued till the thirteenth of May, when he, (contrary likewise to the Habeas Corpus Act), by an order of the House of Commons, and a warrant issued out from the Speaker, delivered them prisoners to his majesty's prison at the Gate-House, where they continued to the end of the session. Besides this severe punishment inflicted by themselves, that they might shew their utmost resentment, and proceed to all the severities in their power, they at the same time resolved upon an address to his majesty, to put them out of the Commissions of the Peace and Lieutenancy."*

The transfer to the Gate-House was an agreeable relief to the Kentish gentlemen, although it was otherwise intended by those who sent them there. Captain Taylor, the keeper, was a man of great humanity, and formed a perfect contrast to the Serjeant. He not only treated his prisoners with civility, but rendered them every accommodation that could mitigate their persecution, and render their restraint easy. When men, who are armed with authority for a beneficial purpose, outstep its boundaries, or abuse it for the oppression of the innocent, they become a mark for the people to shoot at, and may think themselves fortunate when they escape their resentment. The faction in parliament, by the intemperance of their conduct, and their violation of justice, had excited a general indignation amongst the people, which was not at all lessened by the savage behaviour of their minion. The right of the House of Commons to imprison the subject, began to be loudly questioned; and numbers of people poured in to visit the prisoners, who were treated as confessors. Persecution raised them into notice; and the cause for which they suffered, procured them the honourable reputation of patriots. To spread their fame, and extend the knowledge of their persons to those who could not otherwise know them, their likenesses were engraved, and exhibited for sale at the various print-shops in the metropolis: Verses were also written upon the occasion, and their praises chaunted in ballads, or recorded in works of a more stable nature. These honours, and others which awaited them, mortified their opponents not a little.

It is curious to read the lamentations of a Tory writer: "The commitment made them grow famous, as the burning of Diana's temple made the pitiful fellow that did it talked of; and they did not want visitants of all sorts and degrees, to encourage them to persevere in their impudence, and to continue to exasperate the country against their representatives, for denying them leave to affront them by way of petition. Nor had they any reason to think that the court would discountenance them in such practices; for, the poet-laureat, who is a sworn servant to the crown, was ordered to write a poem in their commendation, called "The Kentish Worthies," which he durst not have done, without encouragement or order from his superiors."* If the court sympathized with the people in the affair of the Kentish gentlemen, as here intimated, it was a plain proof that the ruling faction had but small claims either to loyalty or patriotism, and therefore had but a short time to reign. The poet-laureat was Nahum Tate, author of a version of the Psalms, written in conjunction with Nicholas Brady, and since then, the standard of psalmody in the church of England.

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* Jura Populi Anglicani, p. 17.

It was upon occasion of the circumstance just recorded, that De Foe drew up the celebrated Legion Paper, which was presented to the House of Commons upon Wednesday the 14th of May, the day after the gentlemen were committed, and produced an extraordinary sensation both in parliament and upon the nation. It was addressed "To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled," and intitled, "A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of——, in behalf of themselves, and many thousands of the good people of England;" and signed LEGION. In what manner it was communicated to the House, or whether at all according to form, does not appear by the Journals. Oldmixon, says De Foe, enclosed this paper in a letter to the Speaker Harley, charging and commanding him in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the Commons.† Another historian tells us, it was placed in the Speaker's chair;* but Mr. Chalmers adopts a tradition, that De Foe, disguised in a woman's dress, presented it to the Speaker as he entered the House of Commons.† (R). Such a report was certainly current at the time, but the true history of it seems to be that which is related in "The History of the Kentish Petition:" The author thus writes: "'Twas said, it was delivered the Speaker by a woman; but I have been informed since, that it was a mistake, and 'twas delivered by the very person who wrote it, guarded by about sixteen gentlemen of quality, who, if any notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by force." Some precaution was certainly necessary in the delivery of such a paper, which, if the author had been detected, would have subjected him to the utmost vengeance of the House. The "Memorial," was enclosed in the following letter to Mr. Harley.

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* History of Faction, p. 77.

† History of England, iii. 235

"Mr. Speaker. The enclosed Memorial you are charged with in behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. There is neither Papist, Jacobite, Seditious, Court or Party interest concerned in it; but honesty and truth. You are commanded by 200,000 Englishmen to deliver it to the House of Commons, and to inform them that it is no banter, but serious truth; and a serious regard to it is expected. Nothing but justice and their duty is required, and it is required by them who have both a right to require, and power to compel, viz. The People of England. We could have come to the House strong enough to oblige them to hear us; but we have avoided any tumult, not desiring to embroil, but to save our native country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it."

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* Somerville, p. 550. † Life of De Foe, p. 14.

(R) Mr. Chalmers received the above information from Mr. Polhill, of Cheapstead Place, in the County of Kent, son to the Mr. Polhill who was committed to the Gate-House, as above mentioned.

"To Robert Harley, Esq.,
Speaker of the House of Commons."

De Foe, who was naturally of a bold and dauntless temper, is stated by Oldmixon, to have infused enough of his spirit into his *Memorial*. It sets out with a preamble, reminding the Commons of their responsibility to those who had placed them there, and exhorting them to retrace their steps if they would escape the vengeance of an insulted people. The grievances of the nation are then brought forward in fifteen particulars; and are followed by a claim of rights under four heads, and several other demands affecting the security of individuals, or the national policy. As the document itself is but rarely to be found in an entire state, and is of some importance in our history, as well as highly illustrative of the character of the times, it may not be improper to preserve a copy of it in this work. It is as follows:

"Gentlemen. It were to be wished you were men of that temper, and possessed of so much honour as to bear with the truth, though it be against you; especially from us who have so much right to tell it you: But, since even petitions to you from your Masters (for such are the people who chose you), are so haughtily received, as with the committing the authors to illegal custody, you must give us leave to give you this fair notice of your misbehaviour, without exposing our names. If you think fit to rectify your error, you will do well, and possibly may hear no more of us; but if not, assure yourselves the nation will not long hide their resentment. And though there are no stated proceedings to bring you to your duty, yet the great law of reason says, and all nations allow, that whatever power is above law, is burthensome and tyrannical; and may be reduced by extra-judicial methods. You are not above the people's resentment: They that made you members, may reduce you to the same rank from whence they chose you, and may give you a taste of their abused kindness, in terms you may not be pleased with.

"When the people of England assembled in Convention, presented the crown to his present majesty, they annexed a Declaration of the Rights of the People; in which was expressed, what was illegal and arbitrary in the former reign, and was claimed as of right to be done by succeeding kings of England. In like manner, here follows, Gentlemen, a short abridgment of the nation's grievances, and of your illegal and unwarrantable practices; and a claim of right, which we make in the name of ourselves, and such of the good people of England, as are justly alarmed at your proceedings.

"1. To raise funds for money, and declare by borrowing clauses, that whosoever advances money on those funds, shall be reimbursed out of the next aid, if the funds fall short; and then give subsequent funds, without transferring the deficiency of the former, is a horrible cheat on the subject who lent the money, a breach of public faith, and destructive to the honour and credit of parliaments.

"2. To imprison men who are not your own members, by no proceedings but a vote of the House, and to continue them in custody *sine die*, is illegal; a notorious breach of the liberty of the people; setting up a dispensing power in the House of Commons, which your fathers never pretended to; bidding defiance to the *Habeas Corpus* act, which is the bulwark of personal liberty; destructive of the laws, and betraying the trust reposed in you: The king, at the same time, being obliged to ask your leave to continue in custody the horrid assassinators of his person.

"3. Committing to custody those gentlemen, who at the command of the people, (whose servants you are), did, in a peaceable way, put you in mind of your duty, is illegal and injurious; destructive of the subject's right of petitioning for redress of grievances, which has by all parliaments before you, been acknowledged to be their undoubted right.

"4. Your voting a petition from the gentlemen of Kent insolent, is ridiculous and impertinent, because the freeholders of England are your superiors; and is a contradiction in itself, and a contempt of the English freedom, and contrary to the nature of parliamentary power.

"5. Voting people guilty of bribery and ill-practices, and committing them, as aforesaid, without bail, and then upon submission, and kneeling to your House, discharging them, exacting exorbitant fees by your officers; is illegal, betraying the justice of the nation, selling the liberty of the subject, encouraging the extortion and villany of gaolers and officers, and discontinuing the legal prosecution of offenders in the ordinary course of law.

"6. Prosecuting the crime of bribery in some to serve a party, and then proceed no farther, though proof lay before you, is partial and unjust; and a scandal upon the honour of Parliaments.

"7. Voting the Treaty of Partition fatal to Europe, because it gave so much of the Spanish dominions to the French, and not concerning yourselves to prevent their taking possession of it all; deserting the Dutch when the French are at their doors, till it be almost too late to help them; is unjust to our Treaties, and unkind to our confederates, dishonourable to the English nation, and shews you very negligent of the safety of England, and of our Protestant neighbours.

"8. Ordering immediate hearings to trifling petitions, to please parties in elections; and postponing the petition of a widow for the blood of her murthered daughter, without giving it a reading; is an illegal delay of justice, and dishonourable to the public justice of the nation.

"9. Addressing the king to displace his friends upon bare surmises, before a legal trial, or article proved, is illegal, and inverting the laws, and making execution go before judgment; contrary to the true sense of the law, which esteems every man a good man till something appears to the contrary.

10. Delaying the Proceedings upon capital impeachments, to blast the reputation of the persons, without proving the fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive of the liberty of Englishmen, a delay of justice, and a reproach to parliaments.

"11. Suffering saucy and indecent reproaches upon his majesty's person to be publicly made in your House, particularly by that impudent scandal of parliaments, JOHN HOWE, without shewing such resentments as you ought to do; the said John Howe saying openly, 'That his majesty had made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours;' insinuating, that the Partition Treaty (which was every way as just as blowing up one man's house to save another's), was a combination to rob the king of Spain of his due. This is making a Billingsgate of the House, and setting up to bully your Sovereign, contrary to the intent and meaning of that freedom of speech, which you claim as a right; is scandalous to parliaments; undutiful and unmanly; and a reproach to the whole nation.

"12. Your Speaker exacting the exorbitant rate of 10*l.* per *diem* for the votes, and giving the printer encouragement to raise it on the people, by selling them at four pence per sheet; is illegal and arbitrary exaction, dishonourable to the House, and burthensome to the people.

"13. Neglecting still to pay the nation's debts, compounding for interest, and postponing petitions; is illegal, dishonourable, and destructive of the public faith.

" 14. Publicly neglecting the great work of Reformation of Manners, though often pressed to it by the king, to the great dishonour of God, and encouragement of vice, is a neglect of your duty, and an abuse of the trust reposed in you by God, his Majesty, and the People.

" 15. Being scandalously vicious yourselves, both in your morals and religion ; lewd in life and erroneous in doctrine ; having public blasphemers, and impudent deniers of the Divinity of our Saviour amongst you, and suffering them, unreproved and unpunished, to the infinite regret of all good christians, and the just abhorrence of the whole nation.

" Wherefore, in the said prospect of the impending ruin of our native country, while parliaments (which ought to be the security and defence of our laws and constitution), betray their trust, and abuse the people whom they should protect : And no other way being left us but that force which we are very loath to make use of, that posterity may know we did not insensibly fall under the tyranny of a prevailing party, We do hereby claim and declare,

" 1. That it is the undoubted right of the People of England, in case their representatives in Parliament do not proceed according to their duty, and the people's interest, to inform them of their dislike, disown their actions, and direct them to such things as they think fit, either by petition, address, proposal, memorial, or any other peaceable way.

" 2. That the House of Commons, separately, and otherwise than by bill legally passed into an act, have no legal power to suspend or dispense with the laws of the land, any more than the king has by his prerogative.

" 3. That the House of Commons has no legal power to imprison any person, or commit them to custody of serjeants or otherwise (their own members excepted), but ought to address the king, to cause any person, on good grounds, to be apprehended ; which person so apprehended, ought to have the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and be fairly brought to trial by due course of law.

"4. That, if the House of Commons, in breach of the laws and liberties of the people, do betray the trust reposed in them, and act negligently, or arbitrarily and illegally, it is the undoubted right of the People of England, to call them to an account for the same, and by Convention, Assembly, or Force, may proceed against them as traitors and betrayers of their country.

"These things we think proper to declare, as the unquestioned right of the People of England, whom you serve, and in pursuance of that right, (avoiding the ceremony of petitioning our inferiors, for such you are by your present circumstances, as the person sent is less than the sender), We do publickly protest against all your aforesaid illegal actions, and in the name of ourselves, and of all the good people of England, Do Require and Demand,

"1. That all the public just debts of the nation be forthwith paid and discharged.

"2. That all persons illegally imprisoned, as aforesaid, be either immediately discharged, or admitted to bail, as by law they ought to be; and the liberty of the subject recognised and restored.

"That John Howe aforesaid, be obliged to ask his Majesty's pardon for his vile reflections, or be immediately expelled the House.

"4. That the growing power of France be taken into consideration; the succession of the Emperor to the crown of Spain supported; our Protestant neighbours protected; as the interest of England, and the Protestant religion requires.

"5. That the French king be obliged to quit Flanders, or his Majesty be addressed to declare war against him.

"6. That suitable supplies be granted to his Majesty for the putting all these necessary things in execution, and that care be taken that such taxes as are raised, may be more equally assessed and collected, and scandalous deficiences prevented.

" 7. That the Thanks of this House may be given to those Gentlemen who so gallantly appeared in the behalf of their country with the Kentish Petition, and have been so scandalously used for it.

" Thus, Gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of; but, if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentment of an injured nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments than to Kings.

" Our Name is LEGION, and we are Many."

" Postcript. If you require to have this Memorial signed with our Names, it shall be done on your first order, and personally presented."

The Commons, as might be expected, were greatly incensed at the bold and threatening language of this Address. As the author remained concealed, they did not think fit to pass any particular censure upon it; and it is probable they had by this time discovered their mistake in proceeding so rashly with the Kentish gentlemen. All that we learn from the Journals of the House, says Ralph, is, " That the Serjeant having been ordered to go his rounds with the mace, to summon such members as he should find to attend the service of the House, a complaint was made of endeavours to raise tumults and sedition, in order to disturb the public affairs; and it was ordered thereon, that a committee be appointed to draw up an address, humbly to lay before his majesty, the endeavours of several ill-disposed persons to raise tumults and sedition in the kingdom; and humbly to beseech his majesty, that he will provide for the public peace and security. The committee so appointed consisted of fifty-three persons; but having thought better of it, no report was called for, and the whole affair was silently let fall."* That the House was in no small ferment, however, appears from a minute in the Journals, respecting an altercation between Sir William Strickland and Mr. Howe, and which called for the interposition of the House. The same fact is also evident from a subsequent publication by *Legion*, which tells us, that the House was frightened out of its wits, and several of the members betook themselves to the country.

But the wholesome truths pronounced by LEGION, although in rather rough language, were far from being lost, either upon the parliament or the nation. Bishop Kennet says, " a number of prudent sober men were apt to think the subject-matter of the Memorial true;" and another writer observes, " That Paper struck such a terror into the party in the House, that, from that time, there was not a word ever spoken of proceeding against the Kentish Petitioners; and the members of that party began to drop off and get into the country: For their management began to be so disliked over the whole nation, that their own fears dictated to them they had run things too far."† This account of the effect of De Foe's paper, is confirmed by Oldmixon: " Though the Kentish Petition and the Legion's Memorial," says he, " were seemingly treated with contempt by the Commons, yet there seemed now also to be some change in their air and language. They thought it policy to make the world believe they were in the most perfect agreement with his Majesty's councils and conduct, and the most zealous for his honour and interest; but they would not take a direct step towards what his Majesty desired of them,—a positive declaration in favor of the Emperor, and his right to the Spanish succession, which, however, his Majesty took especial care of in the treaty of Alliance which was then negociating."*(s)

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* Ralph's Hist. ii. 953.

† History of the Kentish Petition.

The Kentish petitioners continued in prison until the rising of parliament, upon the 24th of June, when they became legally discharged; but to testify their respect for Captain Taylor, their Keeper, from whom they had received so much civility, they continued to lodge with him during their continuance in London. The first honour awarded them after their release, was a noble entertainment at Mercer's-Hall, Cheapside, where they dined with upwards of two hundred gentlemen, at the expence of the citizens. Upon this occasion, they were honoured with the company of some persons of distinction, to the mortification of the Tories, as is thus related by one of their writers. "The chief citizens of London, among whom some of those worthy gentlemen that had sitten in the chair, invited them to a noble entertainment at Mercers'-Hall, where there was nothing wanting to shew their respect to them, and the cause of sedition they were carrying on; no, not so much as some of the nobility themselves, to give a stamp of authority to what had been done, contrary to all law, good-manners, or prudence." † But a fuller account of the event is recorded in another Tory publication of the time, written with a mixture of talent and buffoonery: In the following extract, the reader will not overlook the glance of sarcasm directed at De Foe, who was present at the entertainment.

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* Oldmixon's Hist. Engl. iii. 237.

(s) Oldmixon, who seems to have been jealous of De Foe's just fame, unwilling to detract from the merit of his performance, is equally so to allow him the sole credit of its composition. He says, "Though De Foe took to himself in my hearing the honour of being the author of this Paper, yet nobody that knew him well, could think him capable of drawing up these articles; wherein he doubtless had help from men of more brains, though not of so much assurance." He says, "he might probably have a hand in the Conclusion:" But, whatever ability might be displayed in the Memorial, as it respects either power of language, or strength of argument, it was far from being superior to his other writings; and he shortly produced a work resulting from the same circumstances, from the ability of which, envy and malice could not detract. It may be observed, that Leslie, in the tenth number of his Rehearsal, ascribes the Legion-Letter to De Foe.

† Hist of Faction, p. 77.

"As soon as the parliament was prorogued, and the Kentish men set at liberty, the legitimates assembled the heads of the tribes, where it was carried *nem. con.* that the five Kentish prisoners should have the thanks of all the factious houses in England: And then it was resolved, that money be collected to make a noble treat for the said worthy members, in honour of their gallant and generous enterprises, and in derision of that parliament who had so unjustly confined them: And accordingly, some of the sheriff-makers of London were ordered to collect the said money, which I am told they did to the value of two hundred pounds: though some they importuned to join with them, had more wit than to do it. And to complete the show, that it might look somewhat majestic, the ballad-maker of White-hall, was ordered to compose some lines to the laud and praise of the five Kentish Worthies; which he did with like success as when he and the parson (Dr. Nicholas Brady) rebelled against King David, and broke his lute and murdered his Psalms. Things being thus ordered, the guinea-droppers for the feast meet at Mercers'-Chapel, where all things are ready—baked, boiled and roast, and cod and calves-head in abundance. But when the five Worthies entered, Lord, what a stir there was! Jove, when he appears in an Assembly of the Gods, cannot have more homage paid him. The cits were grown mere courtiers, and none could have thought their hams had been so supple. *Next the Worthies was placed their Secretary of State, the author of the Legion-Letter; and one might have read the downfal of parliaments in his very countenance.* Besides those admitted to the feast, fame had brought a numerous crowd to be spectators. The journeymen and apprentices ran for one whole day from their masters. This was even as bad as a Lord-mayor's show. Hither came the good man and good woman, who brought her child along with her, and went home very well satisfied, and thanked God that her child had seen a Kentish Worthy. But, after the teeth had done their duty, the tongues went to work, and nothing was spoken but in praise of the heroes, and condemnation of the parliament. The most dissenting squeamish stomach present, could drink off its glass to the health of *Cinque-Quatre*, i. e. to the five Kentish Worthies, and the four impeached Lords. It was resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the parliament should be dissolved, and that the five Worthies should be chosen in the next parliament, two of them for the county, and the others for the most considerable corporations in Kent."*

The Kentish gentlemen, after spending a few days in London, took their departure privately, upon the second of July. The citizens had offered to accompany them out of town; but they declined this mark of respect from an apprehension that, in so populous a place as London, it might lead to tumult. They therefore adopted the precaution of sending away their carriages empty, and went themselves a few miles by water. All their prudence, however, could not prevent those testimonies of regard which the populace every where showed them upon their journey. The first instance occurred at Blackheath, where Mr. Polhill, one of the gentlemen, separated from his companions, taking the direction of Bromley, towards his own house at Ottford in Kent. He was met at Blackheath by above five hundred horsemen, who received him in the midst of them, and surrounded his coach with shouts of joy, as a testimony of their satisfaction at his return amongst them. An eye-witness of the cavalcade remarks,

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* Account of some late designs to create a misunderstanding betwixt the King and his People.—pp. 15—19.

" I never heard of any gentleman more universally beloved by the country; or more particularly distinguished for his modesty and temper; and I believe I may affirm, that it would be hard to find any gentleman so near the city of London, who could have had such an appearance of his own tenants and neighbours to congratulate his deliverance."* Mr. Polhill having reached the corner of the Park-wall on Blackheath, stopped to take leave of his brethren, and giving them a loud huzza, wished them a good journey, and proceeded to Ottford. All possible demonstrations of joy concluded the day, and it was not known that the country had expressed more satisfaction since the coronation of King William, than at the return of this gentleman.(T)

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* History of the Kentish Petition.

(T) Mr. Polhill, descended from an ancient and respectable family seated at Hollingburn, and afterwards at Ottford in the county of Kent. His grandfather, David Polhill, appears to have been of the royal party, and was imprisoned by the parliament in 1643. His father, Thomas Polhill, married the eldest daughter of Lord Deputy Ireton, brother-in-law to Oliver Cromwell, by whom he had three sons. David, the eldest, was born in 1673. After passing through a course of education in his own country, he was sent to travel upon the continent, and accompanied Dr. Mead, who was about his own age, into Italy. Upon his return to England, he took possession of the family estate, was made a justice of the peace, and lived greatly beloved in his neighbourhood. In Watts's "Lyric Poems," there is one addressed to Mr. Polhill, written in 1698, in answer to an infamous satire upon King William, called " Advice to a Painter." This animated defence of the monarch, was accompanied by a letter to Mr. Polhill, eulogising his zeal for his king and country. He was many years member of Parliament for the city of Rochester; and also, Keeper of the Records in the Tower: To this post he was appointed September 24, 1730, in the room of Mr. Topham, deceased. Having attained to the age of eighty years, he died January 15, 1754, and was buried with his ancestors in Ottford church, where there is an elegant mural monument, with his busto before a pyramid of grey marble. The following character of him forms part of the inscription: " He was ever active and steady in promoting the true interests of his sovereign, and defending the just liberties of the subject, both civil and religious; with

After parting from Mr. Polhill, the other gentlemen proceeded to Rochester, where they were met by so numerous a body of horsemen, some of whom had come more than twenty miles, that the inns in the town could not accommodate them. At Rochester, the mayor offered them his respects; and having rested to refresh themselves and their horses, they departed, about six o'clock, for Maidstone. From that and the neighbouring towns, a multitude of people flocked to meet them; some in coaches, others on horseback, and many on foot. With this retinue they proceeded to the seat of Lady Taylor, who was married to Mr. Thomas Colepeper, where they were hospitably entertained, and the night concluded with bonfires, and other rejoicings. The following morning, the remaining gentlemen proceeded to their respective destinations, being welcomed every where by the congratulations of the people. In many places, flowers were strewed in the way, the bells were rung, and such scenes of rejoicing had not been witnessed since the restoration of King Charles the Second.*

The press now teemed with publications upon the subject. "The Kentish Worthies had no sooner seen the light," says our Tory friend before quoted, "but out came *The History of the Kentish Petition,* supposed to be written by Daniel De Foe; and *Jura Populi Anglicani*; two pamphlets that shewed the forehead of the party to the utmost dimensions, and made appear that those who have no justice, have no shame.*" In what quarter we are to look for the justice of the case, and where the shame ought to lodge, De Foe has told us in his pamphlet; in which he says, he was an eye and ear witness of every circumstance recorded in the narrative, and had put it into that form, "That all the world may judge by a true light, and not be imposed upon by partial and imperfect relations." Having already quoted freely from this tract, which contains a very intelligible account of one of the most remarkable occurrences in the history of parliaments, it only remains to give a brief extract from the author's concluding observations, which contain an able defence of the right of petitioning.

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* History of the Kentish Petition.

which laudable view he generously hazarded his own safety by being one of the Kentish Petitioners in the reign of King William III. His humanity to his dependants, generosity to his relations, tenderness and affection to his family, steadiness and sincerity to his friends, added to a most benevolent temper, merited, and gained him a very general approbation and esteem." He was married three times, but had issue only by his last wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Borrel of Shoreham. His eldest son, Charles Polhill, died at Chepsted-Place, Kent, in 1805, at upwards of eighty years of age, leaving, behind him an excellent character.

"Had this nation listened to the calls of their own reason, and the voice of things, all this confusion of councils had been prevented. Had the people of England chosen men of honesty, and of peaceable principles, men of candour, disengaged from interest and design, that had nothing before them but the benefit of their country, the safety of religion, and the interest of Europe, all this had been avoided. They would never have imprisoned five honest gentlemen for coming to them with the sense of their country, in a peaceable petition; they would never have had the occasion to repent of their refusing to hearken to the voice of the people; but it is too late to look back; the nation has had the misfortune to choose them, and our peace and liberty, and the Protestant interest in Europe is too much in their hands. All the advice I can pretend to give my fellow slaves and countrymen, is, that they would not be backward to let the gentlemen know that the nation is sensible that they are not doing their duty; and withal, that to impose upon the rights and liberties of the English nation, has always been fatal to the persons who have attempted it; and these persons stand as buoys and marks, to warn posterity of the hidden dangers which others have fallen into. It has been fatal to favourites, to judges, to lords, and to kings, and will certainly be so even to parliaments, if they descend to abuse the people they represent. The imprisoning these five gentlemen had neither reason, law, pretence, or policy. It had no reason in it, because they had offended against no law. It had no law in it, because they had no legal power to commit any but their own members; and I am of opinion, they are convinced there was no policy in it; for there is seldom much policy in doing that publicly, which we know we shall be ashamed of. The not proceeding against them afterwards, shewed they were either ashamed or afraid. Had they been in the right, there could be no reason to fear; and if in the wrong, they had all the reason in the world to be ashamed. God himself permits the meanest and most despicable of his creatures to remind him of their wants, and petition for his aid. The most contemptible beggar is permitted to be importunate for relief; and, though the law is against him, we are not affronted at it. But to resent the representation of their country, and imprison gentlemen, who, at the request of the freeholders of a county, came under the express protection of an act of parliament to deliver a petition, was the most ridiculous, inconsistent action, that ever parliament of England was guilty of. I shall conclude with this short animadversion, by way of remark: That, as this was the first time that ever the English nation petitioned to be taxed; so this was the first parliament that ever addressed the king to defend himself against his people." At the conclusion of the tract, is a poem of sixty-five lines, in the style of the "True-Born Englishman," and adapted to the subject of the foregoing work. (U)

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* History of Faction, p. 77.

(U) In his Review for September 6, 1705, De Foe quotes several lines from the poem, in which are to be found the following:

"Nature has left this tincture in the blood,
That all men would be tyrants if they could.
In vain bold heroes venture to redeem
A people willing more to sink than swim;

The other pamphlet mentioned above, was the production of Lord Somers, and intitled, "Jura Populi Anglicani; or, the Subject's Right of Petitioning set forth. Occasioned by the case of the Kentish Petitioners. With some Thoughts on the Reasons which induced those Gentlemen to petition; and of the Commons' Right of Imprisoning. London: printed in the year 1701." In a preface of considerable length, the author notices the general dissatisfaction of the nation, at the late proceedings of the Commons, which had given just grounds for jealousy and suspicion, and plainly demonstrated very extraordinary designs. After considering the different acceptations of the terms Whig and Tory, he shews that neither can properly belong to the faction that ruled in Parliament. "If we consider the men, and compare what they have done with the pretended principles of their party, 'twill hardly seem odder to see Sir Edward Seymour bring in a bill to prevent bribery; or, Mr. John Howe exclaim against exorbitant grants; or, Sir Christopher Musgrave violent either against grants, or a standing army; or, to find them who discovered a plain inclination to quiet France in the possession of all the Spanish dominions, quarrel at the Treaty of Partition for giving France too much, than to see them assume the name of Tories. Is not Robert Harley a ring-leader in this Tory party? Is not his brother Edward a leading member? Does not he attend all ordi-

If there's a Brutus in the nation found,
That dares patrician usurpation wound,
He's sure to find an ignominious grave,
And perish by the people he would save.
Marius saved Rome, and was by Rome despis'd,
And many a Russel we have sacrific'd.

Posterity will be asham'd to own,
The actions, we, their ancestors, have done,
When they for ancient precedents inquire,
And to the Journals of this age retire;
To see one Tyrant banish'd from his home,
To set five hundred Traitors in his room."

nances, and as constantly, every week-day, frequent the service of the church (for his is a church party) in St. Stephen's chapel, as he does the conventicle every Lord's-day? Are not the Foley's, Winningtons, St. John's, and others of that leaven, members of this fraternity? 'Tis, methinks, hard to say how a faction, blended with such a number of names noted for their inveteracy to the true Tory principles, can be called a Tory party. Nothing, sure, but necessity, and a want of men to serve some great design, could make them, who pretend to be genuine Tories, and consequently must hate a comprehension, and love to keep their party pure and unmixed, herd with a set of men so odious to them." Our author justly observes, that if we would judge rightly between the contending parties, we ought to consider their actions, and not the names and characters they assume, or give to each other. That the practices of the prevailing party were in direct opposition to the avowed principles of the Tories, he argues, from their repeated invasions of the prerogative, their usurpations upon the privileges of the Lords, and the distrust they had created between the king and his people, which was subverting one principal pillar and support of the monarchy. He further shews, that they had broken in upon the rights of the people, by taking upon themselves both the executive and legislative powers, and punishing men contrary to law. From the principles of the men by whom they were supported in parliament, who were known for their hatred to the king, and their zeal for the interests of the abdicated family, there was strong reason to suspect the tendency of their measures. For, "in this party are all those whom either the love of money, or of the St. Germain family, or Popery, has reconciled to the French interest." The author observes, that England, of all countries, had most reason to be alarmed at the growing power of France, the apprehensions from which, had given rise to the discontents and resentments expressed by the people against their representatives, who discovered no concern to prevent it. These clamours, which echoed through the kingdom, produced the Kentish Petition, for which those who presented it were committed to prison. In discussing the illegality of this measure, the writer arranges his thoughts under the three following heads: 1. What power the House of Commons has to imprison. 2. The subject's Right of Petitioning. 3. What reasons the gentlemen of the county of Kent had to offer that petition when they did. The arguments brought forward are such as might be expected from the eminent abilities of the writer, who confirms them by a reference to the best legal authorities, supported by the claims of reason, and the natural rights of mankind. Under the last particular, he insinuates that French gold had a considerable influence in the management of public affairs.

The party attacked in these publications was not without its advocates. Legion was assailed in "England's Enemies Exposed, and its true Friends and Patriots defended. By a True Englishman;" who was attacked in his turn, in the preface to the second edition of "The Present Disposition of England Considered." The author of *Jura Populi Anglicani*, observing upon the first of these writers, says, "If he shew no better judgment in discovering who deserve to be called the *enemies*, who the *friends* of England, than in laying the charge of babbling and nonsense (against Legion), he will do as little service to England in helping her to make any useful discovery of her real friends and enemies, as he has done to his friends by his poor, his paltry, and palpable flatteries."

The points of charge brought against the Commons by Legion, were infused into a ballad, and publicly cried about the streets, as was Legion himself, to the great annoyance of his opponents. To turn the edge of these satires, an anonymous writer thought fit to reprint them, with a Commentary of his own, under the title of "The Ballad; or, some scurrilous Reflections, in verse, on the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Commons, answered Stanza by Stanza. With the Memorial, *alias* Legion, replyed to, Paragraph by Paragraph. The fourth edition. London; printed by D. Edwards, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1701." 8vo. Of these political squibs, many thousand copies were dispersed about the country, but the plain dealing of Legion made the greatest impression.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Controversy arising out of the late Proceedings in Parliament.—Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Vindication of the Commons.—Replied to by Lord Somers in his Vindication of the Lords.—And by De Foe in his Original Power of the People of England.—Abstract of his Argument.—Strictures upon one of his Positions.—Inquiry into the Origin of Government.—And the Nature of Original Right.—Suggestions for the Improvement of our Constitution.—And for the more general Diffusion of Wealth.—Third Edition of De Foe's Tract.—Dedication to the Lord Mayor.

1701.

The proceedings detailed in the foregoing chapter, gave rise to the discussion of some grave political questions, which involved as well the liberty of the subject, as the privileges of parliament.

In the course of the controversy, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, a Welch member, published "A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England. By a Member of the Honourable the House of Commons. Lond. 1701." Folio. After three separate dedications, to the King, Lords, and Commons, bespeaking a candid reception of his work, he proceeds in a Preface of some length to unfold its object, as well as the motives that influenced him to undertake it: and, that he might not be charged with shrinking from the cause he had undertaken to defend, he affixed his name to each of the dedications. For the sake of method, he divides his work into four chapters, bearing the following titles, which sufficiently unfold his purpose. 1. Of the nature and excellency of the government of England, by King, Lords, and Commons. 2. Of the establishment of public officers and ministers of state, and how the Rights of the King and the People are thereby secured. 3. Of the security to the public from the establishment and use of the King's Councils. 4. Of the nature of the Powers and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons, upon Impeachments.—In discussing these important heads of discourse, he lays down a variety of political maxims as the basis of a free government, admonishing ministers of state to keep within the lines of the constitution, and not to palliate their errors for the purpose of securing themselves from punishment, at the price of the ruin of their country. Under the specious pretence of the public good, he casts many oblique reflections upon the late ministers, particularly the impeached lords, and is angry with the Peers for suffering them to escape from the vindictive grasp of the Commons. In discussing the powers of the two Houses of Parliament, which is the main design of his work, he seems to confound their distinct jurisdictions, making their powers inseparable in minute circumstances, and denying to the Lords the privilege of determining upon points that belonged to the forms of their own House. He also advances claims in behalf of the Commons which are inconsistent with the rights of the subject, by placing them above the law, and rendering them an independent power in the state. His work is heavily written, and contains much extraneous matter, as well as unnecessary repetitions.

The quarrel of the Lords was taken up against Sir Humphrey, in a work, intitled "A Vindication of the Rights and Prerogatives of the Right Honourable the House of Lords; wherein, a late discourse, intitled 'A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England' is considered. Lond. 1701." Folio. This is evidently the production of a good scholar, and a sound lawyer, who was probably no other than Lord Somers; and it proves him to have been no less a master of ridicule than of grave argument. The proceedings in the matter of the impeachments, form a leading topic of the pamphlet, which concludes with the following important observations: "That woeful experience has taught us, that nothing ever succeeded well in this nation when there was any clashing, or unhappy difference, either between the King and both Houses of Parliament; for that has several times been the occasion of bloody wars in England, and has ever run even the whole kingdom upon the brink of ruin. Secondly. When there was no good correspondence between the Lords and the Commons, as in the example of the kingdom of Denmark, which in four days' time, by thinking to abate the power of the Lords, changed from an aristocracy to an absolute monarchy; and where the Commons have since experienced, that the little finger of an absolute prince is heavier than the loins of many nobles. Thirdly. When the Commons were at variance among themselves; for that is dividing a house against itself in the literal sense, which cannot long subsist under such dangerous symptoms of approaching ruin."

De Foe thinking that Sir Humphrey had overlooked, or not properly stated the rights of the people, seized that occasion for composing, and afterwards publishing his valuable treatise, entitled "The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, examined and asserted; with a double dedication, to the King and to the Parliament. London. 1701." Folio. "This timeful treatise," says Mr. Chalmers, "he dedicated to King William, in a dignified strain of nervous eloquence;" and of the work itself he observes, "every lover of liberty must be pleased with the perusal of a treatise, which vies with Mr. Locke's famous tract in power of reasoning, and is superior to it in the graces of style," * Another biographer of De Foe observes, that "Those misguided writers of the present day, who are

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* Life of De Foe, p. 15.

continually broaching so many dangerous doctrines concerning the mutual relations of the people and the parliament of England, would do well to observe with what temperate and grave delicacy this difficult subject has been treated by an old Whig, and a keen one, in these masterly pages." *

The first edition of this work, was printed in folio, towards the latter end of 1701, and produced a considerable impression upon the public mind. The subject is discussed with a gravity suited to its importance; the language is plain, but powerful; the argument, pungent; and the illustrations, pointed and appropriate. Although the occasion that produced it was temporary, yet the subject will render it a treatise of standing value, and worthy of an attentive perusal by every lover of liberty.

It is not creditable to the British press, that a work of so much merit should have been so seldom printed, that it is now difficult to be met with: upon this account, some extracts may be desirable, in order to justify the character here given of it.

Addressing King William, the author says, " It is not the least of the extraordinaries of your Majesty's character, that, as you are king of your people, so you are the people's king; a title, as it is the most glorious, so it is the most indisputable in the world. Your Majesty, among all the blessings of your reign, has restored this as the best of all our enjoyments, the full liberty of original right. Former reigns have invaded it, but as liberty revived under your majesty's just authority, this was the first flower she brought forth. Your majesty knows too well the nature of government, to think it at all the less honourable, or the more precarious, for being devolved from, and centered in the consent of your people. The pretence of patriarchal authority, had it really an uninterrupted succession, can never be supported against the demonstrated

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* Preface to Cadell's edition of Robinson Crusoe, 2 vols. 8vo. 1820.

practice of all nations; but, being divested of the chief support it might have had, if that succession could have been proved, the authority of governors, *jure divino*, has sunk ignominiously to the ground, as a preposterous and inconsistent forgery. How happy are these nations, after all the oppressions and tyranny of arbitrary rulers, to obtain a king who reigns by the universal voice of the people, and has the greatest share in their affections that ever any prince enjoyed, Queen Elizabeth only excepted. May this affection of your subjects continue to the latest hour of your life, and may your satisfaction be such as to convince the world, that the chiefest felicity of a crown consists in the affections, as the first authority of it derives from the consent of the people."

To the Lords and Commons he addresses himself in a similar tone. "The vindication of the right of all men to the government of themselves, is so far from a derogation, that it is a confirmation of your legal authority." The Lords, possessing the largest share of the freeholds of the nation, are vested with sovereign judicature, as the properest to be trusted with the distribution of justice, and sit in parliament as a branch of our constitution, representing none but themselves. "The rest of the freeholders," says he, "have originally a right to sit there with you, but being too numerous a body, they have long since agreed, that whenever the king thinks fit to advise with his people, they will chuse a certain few out of their great body, to meet together with your lordships. Here is the original of parliaments; and when thrones become vacant, to this original all power, of course, returns, as was the case at the Revolution." To the House of Commons, as the representatives of the great collective body of the people, he says, "To you they have trusted, jointly with the King and the Lords, the power of making laws, raising taxes, and impeaching criminals; but it is in the name of all the Commons of England, whose representatives you are. All this is not said to lessen your authority, which cannot be the interest of any English freeholder: but, if you are dissolved, for you are not immortal; or if you are deceived, for you are not infallible; it was never supposed till very lately, that all power dies with you. You may die, but the people remain; you may be dissolved, and all immediate right may cease; power may have its intervals, and crowns their inter-regnum; but original power endures to the same eternity as the world endures."

After stating the motives that induced him to undertake the work, De Foe proceeds to the discussion of the main question; "And, because I have to do rather with reason and the nature of things, than with laws and precedents," says he, "I shall make but very little use of authors, and quotations of statutes, since fundamentals and principles are superior to laws or examples." In powerful language, and with an overwhelming force of reasoning, he contends for the original right of the people, which is anterior to that delegated to their representatives, who can never dispossess them: "For, if the original right of the people be overthrown, the power of the representative, which is subsequent and subordinate, must die of itself." As the foundation of his argument, he lays down four general propositions. 1. That all government is instituted for the protection of the governed. 2. That its constituent members, whether King, Lords, or Commons, if they invert the great end of their institution, the public good, cease to be;

"And power retreats to its original."

3. That no collective, or representative body of men whatsoever, in matters of politics or religion, have been infallible. 4. That reason is the test and touch-stone of laws, which cease to be binding, and become void, when contradictory to reason." To these, he adds another; that no power has a right to dispense with the laws; but when such a right is

assumed by either of the three powers, the constitution suffers a convulsion, and is dissolved of course. "Nor does it suffice to say, that King, Lords, and Commons can do no wrong, since the mutual consent of parties, on which that foolish maxim is grounded, does not extend to every act they are capable of doing. There are laws which respect the common rights of the people, as they are the parties to be governed, and with respect to which the king can do no wrong, his ministers being accountable; and there are laws which respect the several branches of the constitution, in regard to which each branch may wrong and oppress each other, or the people they govern. The king may invade the property of the people; the Commons may exceed their power in the imprisonment of the subject, dispensing with the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and withholding writs of election; the Lords may err in judicature, and deny or delay justice by punctilios; but if, in either case, the other branches neglect to interfere, they tacitly approve the wrong, and are all guilty of a breach of common justice. To prevent this, it is absolutely necessary that the three powers should govern jointly; that they should be directed by the law, and where that is silent, by reason; and that every single power should have an absolute negative upon the acts of the other."

De Foe maintains, that every person concerned in the enactment of a law, is, in his measure, a judge of its reason; and, therefore, in his proper place, ought to be allowed to give his reason in case of dissent; also, that, if the people without doors find reason to object, they may do it by petition. And, to prevent any abuse of this privilege, the circumstances under which it is to be exercised, to be regulated by law. If a petition be so worded as to give offence, the persons concerned should be required to explain themselves, which if they do not perform satisfactorily, then the House is at liberty to proceed as the law directs; but not otherwise. He argues, that the silence of the law in this respect seems to imply, that the rejection of a petition, which is a mark of contempt, is a sufficient punishment for any indecency of expression which it may contain; and, that in no case has the House a power to break in upon personal liberty. Precedent in this case is no argument to prove its legality. "It were to be wished," says he, "that the point should be cleared up by the House itself, that we might be troubled with no more *Legion Libels* to tell them what is, or what is not legal in their proceedings." The good of the people, he goes on to argue, is the end of all government, and the reason for the appointment of governors. But, when it is invaded by tyranny and oppression; when justice is overturned; and the constitution abused by those who should be its administrators, then it is lawful for the people, agreeably to the practice of this and other nations, to re-assume the government, and reduce their governors to reason, according to this fundamental maxim,—

> "That kings, when they descend to Tyranny,
> Dissolve the bond, and leave the subject free."

"If the people are justifiable in this procedure against the king, I hope," says he, "I shall not be censured if I say, that if any one should ask me whether they have not the same right, in the same cases, against any of the three heads of the constitution? I dare not answer in the negative. In this universal right of the people consists our general safety. For, notwithstanding all the beauty of our constitution, and the exact symmetry of its parts, about which some have been so very eloquent, this noble, well-contrived system has been overwhelmed, the government has been inverted, the people's liberties have been trampled on, and parliaments have been rendered useless and insignificant. And what has restored us? The last resort has been to the people: *Vox Dei* has been found there; not in the *representatives*, but in their original, the *represented*."

De Foe argues, that the original must be the superior power. The power lodged in the three heads of our constitution, is vested in them by the people of England, who were a people before there was such a thing as a constitution. Government was originally formed for the general good; derived from mutual consent; and, for its preservation, as well as for the accomplishment of its objects in the best possible manner, the authority was divided. "The people of England have delegated the executive power to the king; the legislature to King, Lords, and Commons; the sovereign judicature they placed in the Lords, the remainder is reserved in themselves, and not committed, no, not to their representatives. All powers delegated are to one great end and purpose, and that is the public good. If either, or all the branches, to whom this power is delegated, invert the design, the right they have to their power ceases, and they become tyrants and usurpers. History is full of precedents; but in England, the late Revolution is a particular instance of the exercise of this power."

In reply to the doctrine of unlimited submission to a bad government, he says: "I can see no reason to confirm such a position; for, unless we will place the original of power in the persons representing, not in the persons represented, it cannot be made out that there ought to be no complaint upon the score of our mismanagement. It is not the design of this discourse to lessen the authority of parliament; but all power must centre somewhere. If it be in the three branches of the constitution, it is there inherently and originally, or it is there by deputation. If it be there by deputation, then there must be a power deputing; and that must be both prior and superior to the deputed. If we leave this, we must fly to the old weak refuge of a power *Jure Divino*, a doctrine which the most famed pretenders to have lived to be ashamed of, and whose foundation is so weak, that it is not worth while to expose it. Had Sir Humphrey Mackworth gone on to have recognised the people's right to preserve their own liberties in case of failure in any, or in all, the branches of the constituted power, he had completed his 'Vindication of the Commons of England,' which no man could have done better than himself."

Having established his argument upon a solid basis, De Foe proceeds to combat the "bug-bear," which so many were alarmed at, in the shape of a commonwealth. "The genius of this nation," says he, "has always appeared to tend to a limited monarchy; and, having had, in the late Revolution, a full and uninterrupted liberty to cast themselves into what form of government they pleased, there was not discovered the least inclination in any party towards a commonwealth, though the treatment they met with from their two last kings, had all in it that could be to put them out of love with monarchy. A commonwealth can never be introduced but by such invasions of right as must make our constituted government unpracticable. The reason is, because men never willingly change for the worse; and the people of England enjoy more freedom in our regal, than any people in the world can do in a popular government."

In reply to the question, Upon whom does the original right devolve, in the event of a dissolution of the government? he replies, "Upon the freeholders, who are the proper owners of the country; the other inhabitants being but sojourners, like lodgers in a house, and therefore ought to be subject to such laws as the freeholders impose upon them, or else remove, as living there only upon sufferance. In former days, the freehold gave a right of government to the freeholder, and vassalage and villanage was derived from this right, every man living on the land being a servant, but at liberty to remove elsewhere when he chose: and I make no question," continues our author, "but property of land is the best title to government. If the king was universal landlord, he might be universal governor of right, and the people so living on his lands ought to obey him, or go off his premises. If any single man should at any time become landlord of the whole freehold of England, he could, indeed, have no right to dispossess the king till the present legal settlement of the crown failed, because it was settled by those who had then a right to settle it. But he would be immediately the full representative of all the counties in England, and might elect himself knight of the shire for every county. He would have devolved upon him all the baronies and titles of honour, which are entailed upon the estates; and upon expiration of the settlement, would be king by natural right: and he would be king upon larger terms than ever any man was legally king of England; for he would be king by inherent right of property. When, therefore, I am speaking of the right of the people, I would be understood, of the freeholders; for all the other inhabitants live upon sufferance, and either are the freeholders' servants, or having money, to pay rent, live upon conditions, and have no title to their living in England, other than as servants, but what they must pay for. In vindication of this doctrine, De Foe argues, that "The right to lands, manors, and lordships, was not originally a right granted by patent from kings, or by acts of parliament; but a natural right of possession, handed down by custom and ancient usage, as the inheritance of the still more ancient possessors. This right, as all right originally, is founded upon reason; for it would be highly unreasonable, that those people who have no share of the house should live in it, whether he that built it will or no. The freeholders of England are the only people who have a right to live there; if they grant permission to others, they pay rent for the licence." The result is, that there can be no legal power in England, but what has its original in the possessors; for property is the foundation of power.

To a subject so difficult as the science of government, it must be acknowledged that De Foe has brought both acuteness of mind, and energy of diction: at the same time, several objections may be started to the latter part of his theory, as founded rather upon the nature of social institutions, than upon original right. If land be the true representative of government, the non-possessors of it are in no better condition than slaves, liable to any laws that may be enacted for the exclusive benefit of their masters, or to be expatriated in case of disobedience. Such a notion brings us back to the feudal times, or to the government of an aristocracy, which may be in the hands of a few, or of many, according to the number of proprietors; or even terminate in a single person, who, as lord of the soil, may turn out his stewards, and manage it at his own will and pleasure. Upon this theory, we are brought gradually to a pure despotism. For, it cannot be disputed, that the owner of an estate is invested with an absolute right to its management. He may either cultivate or neglect it; alienate it at his pleasure; plant or transplant its inhabitants; and frame such laws as he may think most beneficial for his own interests, or those of his family.

It will be readily acknowledged, that governments have been often built upon this basis, as in the case of our own country, when the Saxons and Normans partitioned the soil, which was again parcelled out by their successors, who founded upon it the right of sovereignty; and, to strengthen their claim, adopted the artifice of a divine patent. But before we assent to the justice of such a claim to government, as founded upon original right, it will be necessary to shew, who were the original proprietors of the soil? And that they came into possession by legal means. Also, that there has been no invasion of the original right; for every such infraction, however far removed, is a departure from the principle, and reduces subsequent possessors to the condition of usurpers. Without disputing the truth of the proposition, that he who builds a house has the best title to live in it, which, however, may not always be the case; yet, when we ascend to original right, it is natural to inquire, who it was that made the soil? and, for whose use it was created? If the answer to these questions be, that God formed it originally for the benefit and sustenance of the whole family of man; then the question occurs, by what right have a few members of the family dispossessed the majority, and turned them adrift? The right, if any, is purely of a factitious kind, being opposed to nature; for the Almighty never intended that one man should appropriate to himself a hundred portions when one would suffice, and it would occasion the other ninety-nine to be left wholly destitute. Here, the reader will be naturally reminded of Paley's simile of the pigeons. Indeed, all that he has written upon the subject of property, deserves an attentive perusal.

Political societies were first formed by an accumulation of families, drawn together either by their wants, which led them to barter with each other the product of their labour; or, for the mutual defence of their property. An union, founded upon such principles, was soon cemented by ties of sociability and affection; and, being strengthened by a community of interest, prevented the exhibition of discordant feelings. In a state of society so simple and unsophisticated, there could be little room for positive institutions. The absence of private interests leaves little desire of encroachment, and the vices associated with the accumulation of power and property, are sunk in those noble and generous feelings, which mark the character of early nations. In process of time, as societies become numerous, the baser passions begin to unfold themselves; the necessaries of life are exchanged for its luxuries; private quarrels ensue; and the laws of nature are found too feeble to hold them together. Thus men creep by degrees into civil societies, and become subject to diversified forms of government, with positive laws for the regulation of their conduct.

Mr. Locke, and other writers, have abundantly proved that the earliest governments were founded in mutual consent, and for one common object, the security and well-being of the whole; and it would be difficult to assign any other rational cause for their existence. The forms at first adhered to, were simple and popular, all matters of public concern being put to the general vote. With the elders of the people rested the business of deliberation, and a leader was appointed to command their armies during war; but his office ceased with the occasion. By degrees, the sovereign power, which belongs by nature to the people, was delegated, for their mutual benefit, to magistrates, elected for the purpose, until wealth and ambition prepared the way for the extinction of their rights, by the usurpation of a single individual. Governments, thus founded in fraud and violence, were not slow in devising means for their consolidation. By claiming an affinity to the gods, the usurping despots exercised their power in making slaves of men; and taking their possessions to themselves, acquired a title to sovereignty that was confirmed to them by the priests of their religion. It was, therefore, with some reason, that the emperor Caligula concluded, by an analogy drawn from the herds-man and his cattle, that either kings were gods, or men were beasts.

In a state of nature, man has a right of common in the earth, and may appropriate to himself as much as is sufficient to supply his personal wants. When he enters society, he acquires no new rights that are subversive of the law of nature, but unites his forces with the community, upon equal terms, and for their joint protection. His first occupancy then becomes real property, under the protection of positive laws; and the limits assigned to it, are those of want and labour. This is all that I can make of original right; from which the invention of money, and the progress of other arts connected with the civilization of the species, have necessarily caused a wide departure.

The constitution of the English, like that of other civilized nations, is formed from an assemblage of ancient usages, derived chiefly, or altogether, from the conquerors of the soil, who ejected the former possessors, and brought in their own laws, customs and privileges. These being the growth of time, accident, or expediency, have undergone various changes and modifications, in accommodation to the circumstances of the times; the result either of concession from the ruling power, or of popular convention. Reason and justice have usually but little to do with the formation of governments, which are accommodated to the immediate interests and prejudices of the persons with whom they originate; but it is otherwise in their subsequent administration. A lapse of time affording leisure for reflection, brings to light the errors of ignorance; and, in spite of the prejudices of education, or the interference of private interest, it provides the means for their correction. Progressive intelligence, whilst it brings us acquainted with the resources of nature, and the real objects of government, at the same time teaches this important lesson: That the wisdom and durability of political institutions, are in the proportion that they approximate to original right.

There must always, indeed, be a material difference between the institutions of nations that are advanced in civilization, and of those that are emerging from barbarism. In a state of nature, the wants of men are few, and supplied as they arise; a savage never thinks of accumulation. But civil society supposes the existence of private property; and it would not be difficult to shew that the appropriation of land is for the general benefit. At the same time it is not for the advantage of a nation that it should be in the hands of a few individuals. Such a monopoly is not only dangerous to liberty, but the parent of those inequalities, which, when they exist in a great degree, bring with them a large proportion of crime and misery. The neighbourhood of large baronial domains is never remarkable for the prosperity of the inhabitants, who usually remain, from one generation to another, in dependance, degradation, and poverty, the certain inlets to vice. But when the wealth of society is distributed, it occasions a proportionate increase of virtue, comfort, and happiness, which circulate with greater freedom through the whole population.

Upon the extreme case mentioned by De Foe, it will be sufficient to observe, that the only method of providing against it, is to restrain the tendency, by affixing limits to territorial acquisitions. This was tried and failed in ancient Rome, as it would, for the same reason, in all nations that have attained to any considerable degree of wealth and luxury. But, when the institutions of society depart from nature, they require to be alleviated by a compensation for what is lost. Thus, every man born upon the soil has an original right to participate in its produce, at the expense of his labour; but society, having transferred the rights of many, to the hands of a few, is compelled to seek a substitute, which, after the demands of trade and luxury are satisfied, is provided in the shape of parochial, or private charity.

To the remains of the feudal system we are to attribute most of the existing institutions which interfere with popular rights, and operate, in a variety of ways, to the injury of society. Although, in their transmission to our times, they have undergone various modificatious to render their existence tolerable, yet their leading principles are still preserved in the laws regarding property, and in the artificial credit acquired by wealth and rank, which obtains for their possessors, a title to government.

Institutions that are founded in ignorance and error, must eventually submit to the laws of reason, when that reason is sufficiently unfolded by education. But errors that are the growth of ages, and interwoven with the habits of a people, are not to be eradicated in a single day, much less by the hand of violence; for experience has taught us, that such reforms are seldom lasting. It is rather to the slow and gradual, but certain effect of uncorrupted reason, that we are to look for those improvements in political institutions, which shall reduce them to a more equitable standard, and assimilate the practice of government to its primæval objects. These are directly opposed to the monopolies created by ambition and luxury, which have the effect of aggrandizing a few at the expense of the many.

It is not to be pretended, that in a nation which has made great advances in the arts of civilization, any thing like an equalization of property can exist; nor would it be conducive to usefulness. Every man is intitled to free scope for his exertions, and to reap the reward of his talents and enterprize. If he accumulates wealth, he has a right to the undisturbed enjoyment and disposal of it, provided he does not make it an instrument for the oppression or injury of his neighbours. Without this liberty his genius would be cramped; and the powerful motives which stimulate men in the career of improvement, would be lost to society.

In the transmission of property, both law and custom have sanctioned the right of primogeniture, to the exclusion of other claimants; but how far such a restriction is agreeable to nature, or favourable to morals, may be justly doubted. As a barrier against a too minute division of property, it has its advantages; and the aristocracy, which is an important part of our constitution, perhaps, could not be properly supported without it. At the same time the evils inflicted by the system are so serious in their nature, and so general in their effects, as to form a heavy counterbalance, pointing out the propriety of modifying an usage, which cannot be wholly discarded. This might be partially accomplished by some alteration in the law of entails, restricting the descent of land to the direct line, or, at farthest, to those in the second degree; beyond which the division shall be equal. Although such a measure would be slow in operation, it would have the certain effect of diffusing property more widely, and with the least violence to existing prejudices. Certain it is, that most of the evils which afflict society, and corrupt the sources of government, spring from the too great inequalities of property; and they are only to be abated by some remedial measure, that shall gradually promote its more extensive diffusion.

The legitimate use of wealth is the production of happiness to ourselves, and the distribution of it to others. These objects, it is well known, are gained most generally by men of moderate estates, who are the least plagued by ambition, or pampered by luxury. These, as they occasion the least waste, so they have usually the greatest command of their resources; and as they produce in the aggregate a greater quantity of good than a few large proprietors, so they are most closely linked to the general habits of society, and have fewer incentives to deviate from the general welfare.

Whilst land continues to be appropriated without limitation, and is accumulated by large masses in the hands of a few proprietors, it forms but an imperfect mode of representing a free nation. For, after all, men are the objects of legislation rather than cattle, and constitute the foundation as well as the strength of society. In a country where so large a proportion of the public burthens is drawn from trade, justice requires that personal property, under certain restrictions, should contribute its share to the legislature. A measure of this nature is also justified by its utility, as forming a counterbalance to the landed interest, and is a means of ensuring greater purity in parliamentary elections. In hazarding these remarks, the present writer cannot conclude better than in the words of De Foe; "I am not undertaking to find fault with our constitution, although I do not grant that it is incapable of amendment; but I would endeavour to make way by retreating to originals, for every member to perform its proper functions, in order to put the general body into its regular motion."

In the praises lavished upon our constitution, so far as regards the matter of its form, and the general purity of its administration, no one is disposed to concur more heartily than myself, but he is a bold man who asserts its perfection in the gross, and not a very wise one who overlooks its defects. The best friends of the constitution are those who point out its errors and abuses, with a view to their correction; that it may be preserved from the inroads of disease, and sheltered from the attacks of its enemies. The history of past times abundantly proves that it may be endangered from the powers within itself. To prevent the possibility of its recurrence, no precaution should be omitted; for as De Foe observes, "It is not reasonable that the liberty and safety of England should be exposed even to a possibility of disaster: And, therefore, reason and justice allow, that when all delegated powers fail or expire; when governors devour the people they should protect; and when parliaments, if ever that unhappy time should come again, should be either destroyed, or, which is as bad, corrupted, and betray the people they represent, the people themselves, who are the original of all delegated power, have an undoubted right to defend their lives, liberties, properties, religion and laws, against all manner of invasion or treachery, be it foreign or domestic; the constitution is dissolved, and the laws of nature and reason act of course."

When De Foe published a Collection of his writings in 1703, he included the above-mentioned treatise; but it is omitted in the table of Contents. Many years afterwards, during the contest between the House of Commons and the celebrated Mr. Wilkes, who was refused his seat, although repeatedly returned by his constituents, it was judged seasonable to reprint this work. It was accordingly published in octavo, in 1769, by R. Baldwin, in Paternoster-Row, accompanied by " Some Distinguished Characters of a Parliament-Man, by the same Author;" and is stated in the title-page to be the third edition. Prefixed to the work is a spirited Dedication " To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Commons of the City of London." (x) The chief magistrate at that time was the patriotic Alderman Beckford, who has a

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(x) It is as follows: " Gentlemen. When with a disinterestedness and public spirit, which have done honour to the most noble characters in the most virtuous and public-spirited times, you lately petitioned the three branches of the legislature not to put the *badge of slavery* on your fellow-subjects, by the extension of the Excise Laws, every true lover of liberty was filled with the greatest veneration and the warmest gratitude towards you. But the glorious light you there appeared in, was too bright not to raise the envy and malevolence of some: They, therefore, with industry propagated, that you had acted against the Constitution in petitioning his Majesty; and some, if I am informed right, who ought to have known the constitution better, talked in very high terms. It was a matter, not only of surprise, but of concern, that the people in general should be so little acquainted with the constitution, that they should, as too many did, fall in with dangerous, unconstitutional, and indeed, absurd notions. The re-printing, therefore, of this excellent piece of the celebrated DANIEL DE FOE, who seems to have understood as well as any man, the civil constitution of the kingdom, wherein the nature of our constitution is set in the clearest light, upon self-evident principles, and the Original Power of the Collective Body of the People, asserted, seemed to be altogether seasonable and fitting. In this piece, gentlemen, is proved, with such reason as cannot be gain sayed, that your petitioning the king, after you had failed in your petition to the two other branches of the legislature, was truly constitutional, rational, and judicious.

"The design of re-printing this piece, is to keep alive the Original Right of the People, that no false reasonings, nor any artful insinuations may ever extinguish it. It is therefore, with propriety addressed to that body of men which has always stood, like Moses in the gap, against noble statue erected by his fellow-citizens in their Guildhall, to commemorate his worth. De Foe's work was reprinted for the fourth time at the *logographic* press, and included in the "Selection" from his writings, published by the late Mr. John Walker, in 1790. These are the only editions that have fallen under the knowledge of the present writer.

all encroachments on the liberties of the people; and to which the nation hitherto owes its freedom and prosperity. Your late proceedings, gentlemen, shew that you still preserve that independency, that spirited firmness, that just and unbiassed resolve, which are the true supports of liberty. With an entire veneration for your conduct, I am, gentlemen, your most obedient humble Servant, A FELLOW CITIZEN."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Altered Tone of Parliament.—The King goes to the Continent.—And concludes an Alliance against France.—State of Parties in England.—The Ministers attacked and defended in several Pamphlets.—Davenant's Picture of a Modern Whig.—Death and Character of James II.—His Son acknowledged by the French King.—Sensation produced in England.—De Foe's Remarks upon the Addresses.—Ambassador recalled.—Sentiments of the Tories.—De Foe publishes the present state of Jacobitism.—Reply to it.—Publications inviting to War.—De Foe's Reasons against a War with France.—Occasion of his Work.—Its Character.—Produces several Replies.—William returns to England.—Dissolves the Parliament.—Resolves upon a Change of Ministry.—Publications to influence the Elections.—Black List.—Whig and Tory Pamphlets.—Legion's New Paper.—Pamphlet against the Legionites.—Drake's History of the last Parliament.—Davenant's Second Picture of a Modern Whig.

1701—1702.

THE events recorded in a preceding chapter, as they indicated a change in public opinion, so they produced a favorable impression upon the proceedings in parliament. The Kentish petition had been followed up by others of a like nature, from different counties, and one had been prepared in the City of London; but the ministers, alarmed for their reputation and their places, represented to the king their injurious tendency, and requested him to interpose so far as to give them his discouragement. The Commons now affected a more harmonious concurrence with his policy; augmented the army, granted liberal supplies, and pledged themselves to support any alliances that he might form for controlling the power of France, and securing the peace of

Europe. This altered tone could not be otherwise than pleasing to the monarch; but the two Houses of Parliament being embroiled with each other, and one of them with the people, he gladly put an end to the session, upon the 24th of June. About a week afterwards he embarked for Holland, where his talents for negotiation, and for military affairs, found a wider scope. Besides detaching some princes from the French interest, and securing the co-operation of others, he formed an alliance with Holland and the Emperor, which had for its basis the reduction of the power of France. Whatever reason might exist for this measure in the view of King William, whose opinion was uniform upon the subject, the sanction given to it by his ministers, betrayed great inconsistency; for it was but a few months before, that they had advised the acknowledgment of the Duke of Anjou's title, and surrendered to him the whole of the Spanish dominions.

During the absence of the king, the strife of parties continued unabated in England. As the ministers were sinking fast in reputation, the same causes that produced it, tended also to revive the popularity of their opponents, which was farther promoted by the late intemperate proceedings in parliament. The passions of the people, already heated to excess, were now farther stimulated by means of the press, of which both parties availed themselves, by pouring forth libels in abundance. The Earl of Rochester, who had been appointed to the government of Ireland, being considered the main prompter of the ministry, was attacked in a folio sheet, intitled "The True Patriot Vindicated; or, a Justification of his Excellency the Earl of Rochester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from several false and scandalous Reports. Lond. 1701." This piece is purely ironical. The writer takes a review of the Earl's conduct in the preceding reign, when he held the office of Lord Treasurer, and levied the customs without consent of parliament. For this, and his other services, particularly his acting in the ecclesiastical commission, he receives all the commendation to which they intitled him; and the king is bantered for employing a man of his principles, who had been so steady an opponent of his government. The other leading Tories are also attacked in the same ludicrous strain; particularly Sir Bartholomew Shower, who penned, and Sir Humphrey Mackworth, who presented, the celebrated address to King James, from the Middle Temple, in which the prerogative is magnified as the greatest security to the liberty and property of the subject. This libel was immediately seized upon by an opponent, and reprinted in an octavo pamphlet, intitled, "The Whig's Thirty Two Queries, and as many of the Tories in answer to them: With a Speech made at the General Quarter-Sessions held for the county of Gloucester; as also another learned Speech made at the Town-hall of Reading. To which is added, A Copy of a late printed Paper, pretended to be a Vindication of the Earl of Rochester. Lond. 1701." Some time afterwards, an attempt was made to turn the tables upon the Whigs, and to rescue the character of the noble Earl from the charges of his sarcastic opponent, in "The Old and Modern Whig truly Represented; being a Second Part of his Picture: And a Real Vindication of his Excellency the Earl of Rochester, his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and of several other true Patriots of our Established Church, English Liberty, and Ancient Monarchy, from the gross Forgeries and foul Calumnies, falsely and maliciously cast upon them in their late Libels. Lond. 1702." 4to. This is a lame attempt to white-wash the illegal transactions of the late reigns, and to recriminate upon the Whigs for the serious charges brought home upon their opponents. A large portion of the work is occupied by an attack upon "Legion," upon "The History of the Kentish Petition," and upon "Jura Populi Anglicani." Toland, Burnet, and other eminent Whigs, have, also, a considerable share of the writer's abuse; but his politics, both in church and state, are fitter for African slaves than for a free people.

Upon the pamphlets issued from the ministerial quarters, Burnet observes, "The few books that were published on their side were so poorly writ, that it tempted one to think, they were writ by men who personated the being on their side, on design to expose them."* An exception to this censure must be made in favour of a work that was a precursor of the one just mentioned, and displayed a considerable share of talent and ingenuity; with an equal degree of bitterness. It is intitled, "The True Picture of a Modern Whig; set forth in a Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double, two under spur-leathers to the late ministry. London, printed in the year 1701." 8vo. This work, it seems, has been attributed to De Foe,† but certainly without any good reason. The politics of the writer are wholly different, and of the genuine Tory breed. General report, founded upon a likeness of style, has attributed it to Dr. Charles Davenant, a civilian, and a noted political writer, who raised himself into notice by writing against the court; and if he be the real author, must be allowed to be one of the greatest masters of invective that our language has produced.‡ (Y) Under the assumed name of Tom Double, he presents his readers with some leading circumstances in the life and character of a Modern Whig, who made the service of his country secondary to his personal aggrandizement, in the pursuit of which he sacrificed every principle of moral honesty. Those who considered him drawn to the life, and in the bitterness of party there were many such, must have looked upon him as one of the greatest scoundrels that ever existed. But the picture, although painted with ingenuity, is too highly coloured to be imposed as a likeness in the days of calmer discussion; and it must be set down as one of those political squibs that were shot from the magazine of party, to inflame the passions of the multitude. Such was the successful circulation of this performance, that, in the course of a very short time, it ran through no fewer than six editions; and the power of such an instrument, when acting upon public opinion, may be easily conceived, when it is remembered that an octavo pamphlet, of sixty-four pages, was retailed to the public at the low price of six-pence. A second part was added in the following year, as will be hereafter mentioned.

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* Burnet's Own Time, iii. 402. † Biog. Dict. Art. Davenant.

‡ Biog. Brit. Art. Davenant.

(Y) In some pamphlets of the time, Davenant is distinctly spoken of as the author, and he is mentioned as such by many subsequent writers. It is included in the collection of his works, by Sir Charles Whitworth.

Whilst political parties were running a race for popularity in England, by traducing each other, and magnifying their own zeal for the public good, an event occurred upon the continent, that gave a new edge to public feeling, and increased the existing antipathy to France.

James the Second, after living in exile more than twelve years, abandoned to a life of inactivity, and despised by the court that protected him, departed this life at St. Germains, upon Friday, the 16th of September, (z) 1701, in the 68th year of his age. His constitution, which was naturally vigorous, had been yielding for some time to the infirmities of age, whilst a recollection of his misfortunes, which sought refuge in the gloom of a monastery, wasted his spirits. From the time that he had relinquished any hope of recovering his crown, he had given himself up to religious mortifications, going sometimes to the monastery of La Trappe, where the monks were said to be much edified by his humble and pious deportment. In his illness, which continued about a fortnight, he resigned himself to his fate with becoming resolution, being surrounded by his priests, and supported by the aids of religion. When scarcely able to move, or to discern the objects around him, the French king paid him a visit of condolence, and, with a strange mixture of sentiment and policy, which aroused the sensibilities of the by-standers, promised to protect his family, and to assert the pretensions of his son. Having ordered a private funeral, with this simple inscription upon his monument, "Here lys King James," his body, after being embalmed, and exposed for twenty-four hours in the room where he died, was removed for interment in the church of the Benedictine Monks, at Paris; but the internal parts were distributed in several places, and carefully preserved as relics, to assist the devotions of the pious. His bowels were divided between St. Germains, and the English College at St. Omers; the Scotch College at Paris was honoured with the possession of his brains; and his heart was deposited in the Convent at Chaillet, where his queen, Mary of Modena, immediately retired.*

(z) It is remarkable, that nearly all our historians place his death upon the *sixth* of September; but from the Journal of his Life, published by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, in 2 volumes 4to, 1816, it appears that he died on the *sixteenth*.

Of James's character, its leading features must be gathered from his actions; and these have been detailed in part in the foregoing pages. His later biographers have spoken of him in the language of panegyric, as sincere in his professions, honourable in his dealings, and faithful to the trust reposed in him;† whilst the historians of the time represent him as a tyrant and a dissembler, debauched in his morals, a gloomy bigot to his religion, and of an insatiable cruelty. If we are to judge of him by the facts of history, we shall be obliged to conclude, that there have been few princes more deficient in those qualities which ennoble our nature, and render their station a benefit to the people they are

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[*] Clarke's Life of James II. ii. 603.

[†] Hume, Macpherson, Clarke, &c.

called to govern. With moderate pretensions to talent, a defective judgment, and a mind contracted by strong prejudices, his reign presented one continued course of misgovernment. With false notions of the regal dignity, he aimed to establish an independent power in the state, which led to frequent infractions of the laws, and prostrated the liberties of the nation. The power thus acquired, he used for the most ignoble purposes; tyrannizing over the people whom he should have protected, despoiling them of their property, and sacrificing the interests of a community to a misguided zeal for a religious party. It has been said, that nature had endowed him with some qualities which would have rendered him estimable in a private station, and he is particularly celebrated for his fidelity, his humility and his piety; but whatever virtues he possessed, those which would have been most useful to him as a king, were counteracted by the influence of his priests, who prompted him to those measures by which he lost his crown. Faithful to the injunction of his mother, who, upon her dying bed, enjoined him to remain stedfast in the Catholic faith, he made it the rule of his conduct, and the paramount duty of his life. The sincerity and zeal evinced by him in his efforts to propagate it, atoned for his failings, and recommended him to the esteem of his party, who sympathized with him in his misfortunes, and justly looked upon him as a martyr to their cause; but, if these are virtues in the abstract, they were not so in the hands of James, who converted his religion into the instruments of duplicity and cruelty, rendering it subservient to the indulgence of the basest passions, and to the interruption of those social feelings which give strength and harmony to the edifice of society.

Immediately upon the death of James, the French king fulfilled his promise, by causing his son to be proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and he prevailed upon the king of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy, to follow his example. (A) The intelligence of this event, occasioned a burst of indignation in England; and addresses to King William, re-echoing the sentiments of the Kentish petition, poured in upon him from every quarter. "It cannot be doubted," observes De Foe, "but that the language of the addressers, included in them a general dislike to the management of their representatives; and, though it is a new thing, yet it is plain their proceedings in general have been disobliging to the nation." Broad hints were thrown out in some of them, that if his majesty should resort to the experiment of a new election, a parliament would be chosen more acceptable to his wishes. "All these addresses," continues De Foe, "are the legitimate offspring of the Kentish petition; and had not the freeholders been awed by the ill-usage of the Kentish gentlemen, the whole nation had then as unanimously petitioned the House, as they have now addressed his majesty. This is evident from the tenour, and yet undiscovered original, of the *Legion Paper;* the contents of which had so much plain truth of fact as well as law, *and which I could give a better history of, if it were needful;* that the House stood convicted in the plain consternation the contents of it threw them in; by which they gave a full assent to the right of the people."*

King William no sooner had notice of the proclamation of the Pretender, than he ordered his ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, to leave France; and directions were given for the removal of Mons. Poussin, the French agent, from England. The French king published a memorial in justifi-

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(A) "How strange a turn has the doctrine of the sacred office of a king made in the world, within these three or four last years. Crowns have been kicked about in the rudest manner that ever was known, even by kings themselves! Those, who one would think, should, in mere veneration to the office, and in consideration that it concerns themselves, have had some concern for the very name of a king."—*Review,* i. 390.

* Original Power of the People of England. *Concl.*

cation of his conduct, and dispersed it in all the courts of Europe; but it was far from satisfying either King William, or his subjects, who were indignant at the interference of a foreign power, in prescribing to them a king against their consent. Every thing now indicated a speedy war, which seemed to have the concurrence of all parties. The death of James had weakened the attachment of the Tories to his family; for, being released from the allegiance which they considered to be due to him during his life, they felt but little inclination to transfer it to his son, who was no better than a tool of France, to which power England would be subjected in case of his accession to the throne. The interests of their country, therefore, induced them now to coalesce with the Whigs in their zeal for the Protestant succession, and in opposition to the aggrandizement of France.

De Foe thinking this a favourable time for inviting the Jacobites to transfer their allegiance, addressed them with that view, in a pamphlet, intitled "The Present State of Jacobitism considered, in Two Queries:—1. What Measures the French King will take with respect to the Person and Title of the P. P. of Wales? 2. What the Jacobites in England ought to do on the same Account. London, 1701." 4to. Ralph, who has no kindness when speaking of De Foe, gives the following account of this work. In allusion to the warlike addresses just mentioned, he says, "but it ought not to be forgot, that while France was so outrageously treated for the impolitic step she had made in relation to the P. P. of Wales, Foe, the legion-letter writer, set forth a plausible pamphlet, under the title of *The present State of Jacobitism considered*, &c., and contains, according to the words of the preface, a kind invitation to the Jacobites to come into the bosom and protection of the government: but under an insinuation, that in case of refusal, the nation would be blameless if a law should ever be promoted, to exclude them absolutely from either the benefit or protection of the government. The aim of this *Proteus* of an author," continues Ralph, "is to convince the said Jacobites, that their condition is not at all mended by the conduct of the French court in that case: that the obligation of their oath to King James expired with him; and that, therefore, prudence required, and conscience did not withstand, an immediate transfer of their allegiance to King William."

Although De Foe had a proper sense of the indignity offered to his sovereign by the acknowledgment of the Pretender, yet he did not think it amounted to a legitimate ground for war. Ralph goes on to observe, "but the most remarkable sally which he makes in his way, is the following notable apology for the French court; to wit: "if we must argue from French conduct, we must bring French arguments: 'tis a small shift for a Frenchman to say, that they distinguish between a king-regent and a king-titular: that the title, having been once legally the late King James's, may as legally descend as the title of a duke, though another may be possessed of his estate: and this may be no bar to his confederate King William, who is king-regent. That this is a concession of honour to the son of a king, who cannot lose the title, though he may the possession: that 'tis not his part to consider King William's title, any farther than the peace of Ryswick required: but for King James's title, 'twas not expected nor articled in that treaty, that he should not be called King of England: and it can no more be a breach of the peace to call his son King of England, than it was to call his father so: and, besides, all this is but the civility of a court, and matter of honour to families, which no way concerns, nor ought to disturb the English court; for, while the article of lending assistance is kept entire, this *trifle* need give no ground of dissatisfaction to any body."*

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* Ralph's Hist. Engl. ii. 999.

The Jacobites, unmoved by the arguments of De Foe, attacked his work in "The Present State of Jacobitism in England. A Second Part. In Answer to the First. London: printed in the year 1702." 4to. The author of this piece was Thomas Wagstaff, a learned divine, and considerable writer amongst the Non-jurors, and a mock-bishop of their church. He complains, that notwithstanding the soft language of the writer of the former pamphlet, he designed to practise the same rigours in England by law, as were practised in France by despotism. Such a conclusion, however, is perfectly unwarrantable.

The warlike spirit now rising in the nation, was greatly promoted by the publications of the Whigs. Many pamphlets were scattered amongst the people, with a view to point out the dangers that were to be apprehended from the French monarchy, and the fatal consequences of a compromise with its ambitious ruler. George Stepney, the poet, but more favourably known by his abilities as a statesman, published upon this occasion, "An Essay upon the Present Interest of England. To which are added, the Proceedings of the House of Commons in 1677, upon the French King's Progress in Flanders. Lond. 1701." In this work, he takes an elaborate view of the policy that dictated the Treaty of Partition, as the only alternative for averting a greater evil, and for preserving the peace of Europe. As the treaty had been rendered abortive by the perfidy of the French king, it only remained to attempt the reduction of his overgrown power by a just and honourable war, undertaken in concert with other states; which, if neglected at present, we should be forced into in a short time for our own defence, and under the greatest disadvantages. Mr. Stepney contends, that the French monarch was not to be bound by treaty, as he had fully shewn of late; and that to delude the country with this false security, would be attended with the utter ruin of our trade, liberty, and religion. In calculating the chances of a successful war, he takes a review of the power and resources of the different states of Europe; and, in conclusion, replies to the objections that were likely to be raised against his argument, as it affected the interest of England.

In the crowd of pamphlets favourable to the policy of William, one of the most considerable was from the pen of Lord Somers, and entitled "*Anguis in Herba*: or, the Fatal Consequences of a Treaty with France. Wherein it is proved, that the Principles whereby the French King governs himself, will not allow him to observe any Treaty longer than it is for his interest to break it. That he has always aimed at the Union of the Crowns of France and Spain since the Pyrennæan Treaty. That notwithstanding his Pretences to the contrary, such is his Design at this Day: and, that nothing can prevent it but to reduce his Power to such a Degree, as may perfectly break his Measures. Lond. 1701." The topics discussed in the work are sufficiently unfolded in the title. It had a considerable sale at the time, and produced a deep impression upon the nation; insomuch that the cry for war now became as general, as it had been lately against it.

With a view to moderate the flame that was now kindling in the nation, and which he had himself assisted to excite, De Foe published his "Reasons against a War with France; or an Argument shewing, that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is no sufficient Ground of a War. London, printed in the year 1701." 4to. pp. 30.

The object of our author in this pamphlet, is to place the quarrel upon a legitimate footing. After noticing the universal cry for war, he says, "it is not the design of this paper to vindicate the honour of the French king, whose punctual observance of treaties, is not to be reckoned among the best of his royal virtues: but, I cannot agree with those people who say in their addresses, that his owning the Prince of Wales, as they call him, to be the successor of the late King James, is directly contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of Ryswick." To support this view of the case, he cites an article of the treaty which only binds him not to furnish the material of war, for the purpose of assisting the project of an invasion. "The giving them such empty titles as they should please themselves with," says he, "was and must justly be accounted a thing so trivial, that it was not worth the stipulation of a treaty. 'Tis true, it is a personal affront to his majesty, and the English nation ought to be very tender in bearing any ill-usage of him, who is so justly dear to them." But, "to me it seems a thing, saving the resentment his majesty has of it, not worth our notice, and had better have been passed over as a trifle, than fastened on as the principal ground of a war, where there are such material points always required to make a war just, and when there are such other just reasons for taking up arms now before us."

Our author tells us, he is not against a war with France, provided it be undertaken upon justifiable grounds, but the English nation is not so inconsiderate as to fly to shifts and expedients. "He that desires we should end the war honourably," says he, "ought to desire, also, that we begin it fairly. Natural antipathies are no just ground of a war between nations; neither popular opinions: nor is every invasion of a right a good reason for war, at least until redress has first been demanded in a peaceable way." De Foe insinuates, that the only sufficient ground for war, is the overthrow of the balance of power; and that instead of attacking France, from which no benefit but great injury would accrue, we should rather make war upon Spain, which would be not only profitable, but as she was the weaker power, we should be able to conquer an equivalent for Flanders, which the French might be induced to exchange at the conclusion of a peace. "If the French assist the Spaniard," says he, "'tis at his peril; he must do it as a confederate; and there is still no need of declaring war with him on that account."

De Foe's pamphlet was written partly in reply to a work of Dr. Davenant, who had been a strenuous opposer of the war, and now appeared as warmly for it.(B) "I am informed," says he, "a learned gentleman, who has a long time opposed a war, is now turned about, and diligently writing reasons for a war; and since he is become a doctor in politics, as well as in the civil law, I wish he would resolve me this doubt: Whether a breach of the balance of power be a sufficient ground of a war?" De Foe had always maintained the affirmative; but the Tories, who had been hitherto biassed to the French interest, had never made it a question in their policy.

If De Foe's pamphlet gave but little satisfaction to the advocates for a French war, it was because it withdrew from the argument the sting of private resentment, and placed it upon the broad basis of national policy. King William had outlived the only rival from whom he could reasonably ap-

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(B) In an elaborate work, containing much historical research, intitled, "Essays upon,—1. The Balance of Power. 2. The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances. 3. Universal Monarchy. To which is added, An Appendix, containing the Records referred to in the Second Essay. Lond. Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1701." 8vo. A large and full answer to this work was published under the title of "Animadversions on a late factious book, intitled, "Essays upon the Balance of Power, &c. With a Letter, containing a Censure upon the said book, wherein the King, the Ministry, and the Church of England, are cleared from the malignant aspersions cast upon them by the Enemies of this Government. Lond. 1701." 8vo. The author of this pamphlet tells us, that Dr. Davenant made himself conspicuous, and secured a great party in the nation, by his early quarrel with the government, upon account of the maladministration of affairs, which he would persuade the world to be the result of his love to his country, when we all know his spleen to have no other cause than his not having a greater share in the management of one of the branches of the revenue.

prehend danger, and had nothing to fear from a French puppet, whose title but few were disposed to acknowledge: it was natural, however, that he should be jealous for his honour; and he would feel less obliged to our author for this attempt to damp the popular ardour, than he had been upon some former occasions.

The merit of De Foe's performance has secured for it the character of one of the finest political tracts in the English language. It is distinguished for temperate discussion, for solid reasoning, and for well-pointed ridicule; his arguments are applied with judgment; and they are such as would proceed from a man whose mind was well stored with political knowledge. Mr. Chalmers, speaking of the work, says, "This is one of the finest, because it is one of the most useful tracts in the English language. Who at present does not wish that De Foe's argument had been more studiously read, and more efficaciously admitted."* The writer of his life in the *Biographica Britannica*, speaks of it in terms of equal approbation. "In this piece," says Dr. Towers, "De Foe wrote against the views and conduct of the court, and against what then seemed to be the prevailing sense of the nation. He appears, however, to have been perfectly right, to have exhibited on this occasion great political discernment, and to have been influenced by no motives but those of public spirit."

The argument advanced by De Foe in this work, was attacked in the early part of the following year, by an anonymous writer, in a quarto pamphlet, intitled, "Reasons proved to be unreasonable: Fully demonstrating that the French King's Owning the Prince of Wales for King of England, is sufficient ground for War. Lond. 1702." 4to. He had another antagonist, who adopted the title of

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* Life of De Foe, p. 16.

"*Tempus Adest*; or a War inevitable: with some motives for a hearty prosecution thereof. At a Conference between the Lyon and the Eagle. In answer to a late pamphlet, intitled, Reasons against a War. Lond. 1702." 8vo. He was also replied to, in "The Dangers of Europe from the Growing Power of France. With some Free Thoughts on Remedies, and particularly on the Cure of our Divisions at Home, in Order to a Successful War abroad, against the French King and his Allies. Lond. 1701." 4to. As De Foe had already answered the arguments of these writers in his former work, he did not think fit to make any further reply to them.

King William having formed his alliances, prepared to return to England, but was detained about a month in Holland by severe indisposition. He now began to perceive that his constitution was giving way, and felt so much weakness, that he told the Earl of Portland, he did not expect to live through the next summer. His life being of great consequence to the whole of Europe, he studiously concealed his apprehensions from the public, whilst he made the necessary arrangements for conducting the war, independently of any event that might befal himself. Having been disappointed in his expectations from the Tories, who showed a degrading servility to France, whilst their domestic policy was guided by selfishness and intemperance, he anxiously watched for an opportunity to emancipate himself from their toils. Being in frequent communication with the Whigs, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the declining popularity of their opponents, and even of the general disgust into which they had fallen. Conscious that he could no longer carry on the government under their auspices, he resolved to take advantage of the public feeling, and suddenly returned to England upon the fourth of November, with the intention of making such changes as would be more agreeable to himself, as well as satisfactory to the nation.

Although the Tories would now have supported him in his foreign alliances, yet his past experience of their unkindness, combined with a threatened renewal of political resentments, led him to distrust their proceedings, and to determine upon a dissolution of the parliament, and a change of ministry. In these projects he was strengthened by the strain of the addresses that were presented to him from various public bodies, denouncing the late measures of the government, and calling for others of a more vigorous and decisive character. Upon the eleventh of November, a proclamation was issued for dissolving the parliament: a partial change also took place in the ministry; and it would have been still more perfect had circumstances then permitted. The king had seen his error in parting from the Whigs, and was desirous of seizing the first opportunity to restore them: he pressed, particularly, his faithful friend, Lord Somers, to take the direction of affairs; but he declined it, saying, "they could have no assurance that his majesty would not relapse into the same ill hands." Upon which, the king, leaning with his elbow upon the table, said, "Never, never, never."*

During the period occupied in the elections, each party was active in procuring the return of its friends, and mutual recriminations were dealt out with a liberal hand. The assistance of the press being called in as usual, it paid large contributions both in the way of scandal and of grave discourse. Of the various publications, that which gave the greatest offence from its invidious character, was "A List of one Unanimous Club of Members of the late Parliament, Nov. 11, 1701, that met at the Vine Tavern, in Long Acre, who ought to be opposed in the ensuing elections, by all that intend to save their native country from being made a province of France, by reason of their constant voting with Davenant, Hammond, and Tredenham, who were caught with Mons. Poussin, the French Agent. (c) Printed in the year 1701." Half-a-sheet, quarto. This paper, which went by the name of the Black List, and was freely scattered about the country, contained the names of 167 members of the late parliament, arranged according to the counties they represented, and some of them printed in the black-letter, to distinguish them from the rest. These names are preceded by a string of queries, twelve in number, pointing chiefly to the obnoxious votes they had given in former parliaments. A Tory writer in the next reign, speaking of this paper, says, "Before the dissolution of the last parliament, they published an impudent libel, entitled, *The Black List*, wherein they egregiously aspersed and defamed many worthy members of that parliament by name as betrayers of their country, pensioners to France, and unworthy to be chosen into the succeeding parliament; and to that end, sent down thousands of their Black List into several counties, cities, and corporations, to hinder their being chosen. But it was soon known who were the authors and promoters of that libel, and therefore it had no effect."* Another writer says, "The main end of publishing that libel, was, if possible, to have exposed all those hundred and sixty-seven gentlemen to the fury of the rabble."* This paper, trifling as it was, struck a panic for a time into the parties aimed at; but when the elections were over, they exulted in the thought that only forty-six of the names were left out of the new parliament. These, however, included some of the more violent men upon the list, as Hammond, Howe, Davenant, Shower, &c. That so many Tories were re-chosen, was owing probably to the continuance of their party in the ministry. De Foe seems to have been no friend to this mode of warfare. "I am no Black List man," says he, "and always abhorred that unfair way of charging men by name with facts I could not prove; and which I look upon as ungentlemanlike and unchristian."† Davenant, and other pamphleteers, however, were not so scrupulous. This obnoxious paper was prosecuted in the next reign, and ordered by the Commons to be burnt by the common hangman. Tristram Savage, the printer, was, at the same time, sentenced to a fine and the pillory.‡ The Tories had then full possession of the government.

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* Coke's Detection, iii. 104.

(c) This affair, which made a great noise all over England, was briefly as follows: a night or two before Mons. Poussin left London, he was found at supper at the Blue Posts, in the Haymarket, with three members of the House of Commons, who were zealous opposers of the court—Mr. Anthony Hammond, Mr. John Tredenham, and Dr. Charles Davenant. This gave an alarm of secret correspondence; and, although they excused themselves upon accident and common civility, yet they fell under great odium, and, with others of their party, were branded by the name of Poussineers. The author of "The True Picture of a Modern Whig, part ii. p. 48, 49, has given an exculpatory accouut of this meeting, as if it were by accident; and says, that Mons. Poussin was served with his order to depart the kingdom, whilst in their company. Their communication, however, bore upon the face of it a suspicious character.

* Answer to Legion's Address to the Lords, p. 10.

The Tories were not backward in their endeavours to influence the elections. Dr. Drake, whose name will occur hereafter, now published "A Short Defence of the Last Parliament. Lond. 1702." Being a person of reputation in his party, his pamphlet was circulated with great industry through the kingdom; and produced several replies. He was answered "Article by Article," by the author of "The Candidate Tryed." But his most formidable antagonist was LEGION, whom he had condemned to Tyburn, and now appeared before the world a second time, in a pamphlet, entitled, "Legion's New Paper: Being a Second Memorial to the Gentlemen of a late House of Commons. With Legion's humble address to his Majesty. London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1702—4." 4to. pp. 20. If the former memorial be correctly ascribed to

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* True Picture of a Modern Whig, Part ii. p. 46. † Review, i. 337.

‡ Oldmixon's Hist. Eng. iii. 281.

De Foe, as it is by the general consent of our historians, he must have all the credit that belongs to the second; as will plainly appear by the following extracts, from which a tolerable idea may be formed of the effect produced by the first paper. It begins thus:—

"Gentlemen.—The greatest respect which could possibly have been shown to you by the people of England, had been to have let your actions have sunk into forgetfulness, and in kindness to you have let neither you nor your deeds have been named any more in your native country. But since those people, who (in your House) were so restless in their endeavours to ruin us, are not ashamed to undertake your defence, we are obliged in the just vindication of our native right, further to expose your errors, than in charity to your memory we designed. We are bound to let the people know, that a late pamphlet printed by your own club, and industriously spread over the whole nation, entitled, 'A Defence of the last Parliament,' is calculated to wheedle the people to choose you again. But we hope their eyes will be opened; and we wonder you can suggest that the freeholders should so contradict the language of their addresses, and be found so to mock the king and the nation, as to address you out of doors, and then put you in again themselves. If they should act so unaccountably, *Kings for the future will the better know what* English *addressing signifies.*" He then proceeds,

"Gentlemen,—The same hand that presented your Speaker with a certain *Memorial*, called the *Legion Paper*, written, as Mr. Harley very well knows, in a hand that stood the wrong way; that paper, which came, as is said, from two hundred thousand Englishmen; that paper, which frighted Mr. P— and Mr. H—t, and several others into the country; that paper, which Mr. Howe, in a lamentable tone told the House, made him, from a sense of his own guilt, afraid of his life; that paper, which put you all so beside yourselves, as to make a senseless address to his Majesty, to defend himself against his people, which address you were afterwards ashamed to present; that paper, which you had so little wit as to read, and so much modesty, that is guilt, as to blush at; that paper, which made you wish you had never committed the Kentish petitioners, and made you afraid to prosecute them; that paper, which made you clap up the sessions in such haste, as made the Lords baffle you, and all the nation ashamed of you; that paper, which made you pass one good vote at parting, to desire the king to make alliances, &c., which some of your members called a sweetner, that you might not be afraid to go home: the same hand presents you with this paper, as the true sense of the nation concerning you.

"The author does not come incognito as before; but you may see it at the corner of every street; every bookseller can sell it you; every Englishman has it in his hand; and your humble servant, the author, is to be spoken with at his house as constantly as a quack-doctor, from eight to twelve in the morning, and from two till nine at night. It had been time for your defender to have voted the author of Legion to Tyburn, when the charge there given you, in the name of the People of England, had been cleared: And the author tells you, he will be content with that fate, when you will fairly disprove one article of that yet unanswered paper."

This bold address is followed by a recital of the fifteen heads of accusation in Legion's Paper, and by various other charges of a similar tendency, delivered in energetic language, and plainly pointing at the same individuals. "You are the men," says he, "that have endeavoured to possess the people with fears and jealousies of slavery at home, under the protection and government of the only king in the world, that ever sincerely sought, and effectually restored our freedom." But, "that the innocent may not suffer with the guilty," he puts a mark upon them in nine particulars; as the men who had betrayed the liberties of their country in former reigns, "by complimenting our kings with a divine right of government, which neither God, nature, nor the people ever gave them." He tells them, "'Tis for your sakes, that is come to pass in England, which never was heard of before—that the people should have recourse to the king to save them from being undone by the parliament." He exhorts the freeholders of England to choose "honest gentlemen, who will stand up for religion, and hold the balance of the state with that equality between every branch of the constitution, that neither may oppress the other; that the whole may be in its full and free exercise, in order to bring more easily and effectually to pass, that which is the great original of all constitutions in the world,—the good of the people." But, continues he, "if we are still so infatuated and blind as not to set a mark of infamy upon every one of you, then, we deserve to be betrayed to the end of the chapter, and England will fall unpitied by all the nations of the world."

The turn of expression, no less than the sentiments unfolded in this masterly but virulent performance, strongly attests the pen of De Foe; and will remind the reader of some passages in others of his undoubted writings.

One of the cleverest pamphlets published by the Tories against the Legionites, and in defence of the late parliament, is entitled, "An Account of some late Designs to create a Misunderstanding betwixt the King and his People; and to subvert the English Constitution, by exalting the Prerogative, and rendering Parliaments useless. London: printed in the year 1702." 4to. A work introduced with such a title, seemed better suited to the age of the Stuarts, than to the gentle reign of William, which was distinguished above any other in our history, by encroachments upon the prerogative, and by the concession of popular rights. These were so important in their nature, and so rapid in succession, as to form a striking contrast to the preceding reigns; and as they would never have been wrung from a native monarch, so the prince who made the sacrifice, is entitled to the veneration of the patriot, and to the lasting gratitude of Englishmen. The pamphlet that has occasioned these remarks, is written with a considerable degree of shrewdness, as may be seen by the passage extracted from it relating to the Kentish petitioners;* but the efforts of the writer being in contradiction to public opinion, received but little support from his wit; a talent which may strike the fancy for a while, but makes little impression upon the heart.

Another work which gained a temporary celebrity for the violence with which it attacked the Legionites, was "The History of the last Parliament, begun at Westminster, the 10th day of February, in the Twelfth year of the Reign of King William, A. D. 1700. By the Author of The Short Defence of the last Parliament. Lond. 1702." 8vo. pp. 211. The author was Dr. James Drake, who, having but little practice as a physician, commenced political writer, and advocated the most slavish doctrines both in church and state. In this work, as remarkable for its diffuseness as for its subserviency to party purposes, he takes a review of the leading matters that had lately engrossed the attention of politicians. The succession bill, the Kentish petitioners, the Legionites, the treaty of partition, and the impeached lords, are all discussed at considerable length, and strongly tinted with the prejudices of the writer. In his preface he throws out some indecent reflections upon King William, and dwells largely upon the supposed grievances of the Princess Anne, insinuating that the King and the Whigs were engaged in a plot to set her aside, and establish a more popular form of government. For this gross libel, he was cited before the House of Lords in the next reign; and being unable to justify his impudent assertions, he was ordered to be prosecuted by the Attorney General. But his politics being then in favor at court, his prosecution hung heavily upon the law officers, and when he was brought to trial in the following year, he received an acquittal. His book, however, richly merited the stigma left upon it by the Lords: "That there were in it several expressions which were groundless, false, and scandalous, tending to create jealousies in her majesty of her people, and to cause great misunderstandings, fears, and disputes among the queen's subjects, and to disturb the peace and quiet of the kingdom."* Of Drake and his politics, the reader will meet with more in the next reign.

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* See page 407.

Dr. Davenant having met with so much success in his former satire upon the Whigs, now returned to the attack in a second part, intitled, "Tom Double returned out of the country, or the True Picture of a Modern Whig: set forth in a Second Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double, at the Rummer Tavern, in Fleet Street. Lond. 1702." 8vo. This part soon came to a second edition, and equalled the former in misrepresentation and insolence: the whole work, however, is richly fraught with point and ridicule, and will still afford amusement to those readers who are versed in the politics of the times. In this second part, the author takes up the leading events that had occurred since his former publication, particularly the dissolution of parliament, and the subsequent elections; which he supposes to have been brought about by the manœuvring of the Whigs. Referring to some pamphlets before mentioned, he puts the following words into the mouth of Mr. Double: "When this affair was put into good order, we thought it seasonable to taste the people by some scurrilous libels. Out came *Legion*, of which there were disposed upwards of thirty thousand. Your humble servant, Tom Double, was author of 'The History of the Kentish Petition;' and if you reckon the goodness of a book, Jacob Tonson's way, by the sale of it, I am no bad writer; for, of my pamphlet there were printed near ten thousand. Soon after, we published the 'Vindication of the Earl of Rochester;' and I am informed, two of our noble friends clubbed their wits in that libel."* Alluding to a work lately noticed, he says, " Legion is come out again, more impudent and inflaming than he was last year, and the authority of the House of Commons is there attacked in a most audacious manner; which looks as if you designed to throw off your mask, and fall immediately to subverting the constitution in good earnest."† Having repeated the ridiculous charges brought forward against the Whigs by Dr. Drake, the Lords passed upon it a similar censure. When the influence of the Whigs was upon the decline, towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne, Dr. Davenant continued the attack in a work, entitled, " Sir Thomas Double at Court, and in high Preferments. In Two Dialogues, between Sir Thomas Double and Sir Richard Comeover, alias Mr. Whiglove, on the 27th of September, 1710. Part 1. Printed and sold by John Morphew, 1710." 8vo. This was soon followed by a Second Part. In this work, Tom Double is metamorphosed into Sir Thomas Double, and composes a part of the *Dramatis Personæ,* the unfortunate Whigs being pursued with as much violence as before. The work, however, abounds with political information, as is the case with most of Davenant's writings. ‡

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* Boyer's Hist. of Q. Anne, pp. 18, 19.

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* True Picture of a Mod. Whig, Part ii. p. 12. † Ibid. p. 82.

‡ Biog. Brit. Art. Davenant.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Last Parliament of King William.—Harley chosen Speaker.—The King's Memorable Speech.—Good Temper of the Parliament.—The King prepares for War.—De Foe consulted by him.—Projects for National Improvements.—Declining Health of the King.—He is thrown from his Horse.—His last Illness and Death.—His Eulogy.—William's Person.—And Public Character.—His Claims to Patriotism.—Liberality of his Government.—His Love of Liberty.—His Failings and Virtues.—A Friend to De Foe.—Who exposes the Ingratitude he met with.—His Animated Defence of the King.—Baseness of the Jacobites.—De Foe publishes the Mock Mourners.—Extracts from the Work.—Insults offered to the King's Memory.—Retaliations of Providence.—De Foe's Record of the Benefits that resulted from the Government of William.—The Greatness of his Character.—And the Ingratitude of his Subjects.—De Foe's Residence at Hackney.

1702.

THE sixth and last parliament of King William assembled upon the 30th of December, 1701, when Mr. Harley was again chosen Speaker by a small majority, in opposition to Sir Thomas Littleton, whose claims were favoured by the court. Although the influence of the Whigs prevailed in the elections for larger places, the Tories, who still retained the chief seats in the government, had the means of introducing their friends into many of the boroughs, which gave them weight in the new parliament, and influenced the choice of the Speaker: for, if Mr. Harley, properly speaking, belonged to neither party, yet, he usually acted with the Tories, and had identified himself with the measures they adopted for the overthrow of the Whigs.

William, according to his usual practice, opened the parliament in person. In the speech delivered from the throne, he lamented, in pathetic terms, the fatal animosities that had been so lately mixed with their proceedings, pressed upon them the importance of unanimity, and declared his anxious wish to reign in the affections of his people. This memorable speech, which is celebrated by historians as the best that had ever been delivered upon a similar occasion, is supposed to have been dictated by Lord Somers, and was so acceptable to the nation, that it was printed, with handsome decorations, in the English, French, and Dutch languages, and was to be seen framed in almost every house both in England and Holland. One of our historians says, that "the king's words made so deep an impression upon the minds of all men during the whole time of the war, that they seemed to think they were never likely to have another opportunity of exerting themselves."*

The good temper displayed in the early proceedings of parliament, was alike gratifying to the king, and honourable to the contending parties, who appeared willing to stifle their differences, and conform their policy to the declared sense of the nation. Both houses presented addresses glowing with indignation against France; bills for attainting the Pretender, and securing the Protestant succession, obtained an easy concurrence; and large supplies were voted to meet the exigency of the occasion. "The king," observes a sensible historian, "now saw the nation brought back to that temper which had produced the Revolution, saved the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe."†

Highly gratified by the sudden change in public feeling which prompted the proceedings in parliament, William began to prepare for war, as the only alternative for reducing an overgrown power which could not be effected by treaty.

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* Cunningham's Hist. Gr. Brit. i. 239. † Somerville's K. Will. p. 559.

De Foe, who had been previously admitted to the confidence of the king, had the honour of being consulted by him upon various points relating to the impending hostilities; and he drew up a scheme for directing the principal operations against the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, by which means new channels of trade would be opened, and the war might be made to support itself. The plan appears to have met with the concurrence of the king, who, if he had lived, would have assigned to De Foe some honourable post in furthering its execution. These facts he has himself related with great modesty; and he was so well satisfied of the utility of his project, that he tendered his papers to the government several years afterwards, when he could have but little expectation of fee or reward. (D)

The whole thoughts and attention of William were now employed in providing for the public safety. Although in a very weak state of health, he neither declined any public business, nor discovered any anxiety as to his approaching end. The various appointments, both in the army and navy, he filled up with judgment, so as to inspire hopes of a short and successful war; and he intended to strengthen his government by further changes in the ministry. "In order to secure the peace at home, the king proposed an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland upon

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(D) Writing upon the above subject in 1711, he says, "I gave you an instance of a proposal which I had the honour to lay before his late majesty, at the beginning of the last war, for the sending a strong fleet to the Havannah, to seize that part of the island in which it is situated, and from thence to seize and secure the possession of at least the coast, if not by consequence, the *Terra Firma* of the empire of Mexico, and thereby entirely cut off the Spanish commerce, and the return of their plate fleets, by the immense riches whereof, and by which only, both France and Spain have been enabled to support this war. But the king died, in whose hands this glorious scheme was in a fair way of being concerted, and which, had it gone on, I had had the honour to have been not the first proposer only, but to have had some share in the performance.—*Review*, vii. 511—513.

reasonable terms; he also founded charity-schools for the education of the children of poor people; and lastly, he wonderfully increased the reputation and commerce of England; so that one would have wished that a life that was given for the security of these nations, and of the Protestant religion, might have been prolonged to us for ever, rather than have been subject to the laws of death."*

Although the constitution of the king had been giving way for some time, so as to raise apprehensions that he had not long to live, yet, a serious accident that befel him in the month of February, hastened his dissolution. As he was taking his usual diversion of hunting, near Hampton Court, upon the 21st of that month, his horse, which was one he had not been accustomed to, suddenly fell as he was putting him upon a gallop; his foot having stuck in some earth that had been loosened by a mole. The king being feeble, immediately fell, and broke his collar bone: upon being conveyed to the palace, it was soon set; and finding himself easy, he determined upon being removed the same afternoon to Kensington. Such a journey, in his state, seemed at variance with prudence, as well as with the advice of his surgeon, and produced a bad effect; for, by the motion of the carriage, the bandage became loosened, and disunited the bone: this injury, however, was soon repaired, and the king slept soundly the whole night. During the first week after his fall, he seemed to be in a fair way of doing well; but being unable to take his accustomed exercise, the humours which it had dispersed at length settled in his knee, and being attended with great pain and weakness, produced other unfavourable symptoms. Death, which he had so often braved with intrepidity in the field, now stared him in the face; and, as he retained the perfect use of his senses to the last, so he composed himself with becoming resignation to his fate. "As he lay upon his bed, he talked to those about him with gravity and cheerfulness; and prepared himself for his departure in such a manner as contributed to heighten the esteem and veneration which had formerly been paid him by all who were near him. At last, he called for the Archbishop of Canterbury to administer to him the holy sacrament; and after having received it in the usual manner, he died, with an even and constant mind, and without the least alteration of countenance, or disorder of body, 8th March, 1702. At the very last moment, when his mind was otherwise oppressed, he retained a just sense of the redemption of mankind, and the remembrance of his good subjects. Thus he lay so quietly and composed, with his eyes fixed upon heaven, when his speech failed him, that no man could die either better prepared, or with greater constancy and piety than this prince; of whose just praises no tongue shall be silent, and no time unmindful. And if any king be ambitious of regulating his councils and actions by the bright examples of the most famous men, he may form to himself an idea of a great prince, and a grand empire, not only from this king's life, but from the public records of the English and Dutch nations.* He died in the 52nd year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

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* Cunningham, i. 249.

The following lines descriptive of William's character, are distinguished alike for energy of thought, terseness of expression, and beauty of arrangement:

"He was,
But is no more,
The Head, Heart, and Hand
Of the Confederacy;
The Assertor of Liberty,
The Deliverer of Nations,
The Support of the Empire,
The Bulwark of Holland,
The Preserver of Britain,

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* Cunningham, i. 252.

The Reducer of Ireland,
And the Terror of France.
His Thoughts were wise, serene and secret,
His Words few and faithful,
His Actions many and heroick;
His Government without Tyranny,
His Justice without Rigour,
And his Religion without Superstition.

He was
Magnanimous without Pride,
Valiant without Violence,
Victorious without Triumph,
Active without weariness,
Cautious without Fear,
And Meritorious without Thanks."

William was in person of a middle size, and a manly appearance; with an aquiline nose, a fine eye, and a dark complexion. Possessed of a constitution naturally weak, with a neglected education, and surrounded from his earliest years with political difficulties, no prince ever broke through such disadvantages with more entire success, or opened to himself a greater degree of glory by dint of natural genius, assisted by circumstances of which he possessed the skill and penetration to take advantage. If unfortunate in any of his enterprizes, he never suffered himself to be daunted by danger nor difficulty; but usually contrived to surmount and turn it to his own advantage. His skill and bravery in the field were as much the admiration of his friends, as they were the terror of his enemies, and procured him distinction at a time when the armies opposed to him were commanded by some of the ablest generals in Europe. Nor was he less renowned for his political discernment, and his address in the cabinet; qualifications which extorted from the French king, Louis XIV., an attestation to his merit, which forms the highest eulogy: "Il est le plus grand homme de cabinet du monde." A contemporary writer observes, "This prince, without any flattery, was endowed with all those good qualities which have rendered the great ones of the world famous; possessing prudence and courage in a high degree: and such was the intrepidity of his temper, in time of greatest danger, that he may be said to be fearless. His virtues were solid, and all of a piece, so that it could not well be discerned to which, in respect to his knowledge in civil and military affairs, the prize was to be given."[*]

His claims to patriotism had been fully established long before he ascended the throne of England. Amidst the distresses of his country, assailed by the intrigues and by the formidable power of France, he maintained her cause with heroic fortitude, declaring, that sooner than submit to her dictation, *he would die in the last ditch.* By examples of prudence and sagacity far beyond his years, he succeeded in composing the jarring factions that divided his country; and aided by his military skill, acquired an influence over her councils, that, had he been swayed by ambition, might have been easily converted to his own aggrandizement. To this, he was not without strong solicitations both from France and England. Louis having offered to make him King of Holland, he replied, "That he had rather maintain the people in their liberties, obtained by the virtue of his ancestors, than accept of a kingdom offered to him with dishonour."[†] Whilst the French king was prodigal of what was not his own, this young prince had a truer sense of glory, scorning the acquisition of wealth and power at so infamous a price. No man in his opinion lived up to the dignity of his nature, whose whole life was spent in acquiring the gifts of fortune, or in gratifying his various appetites and passions. In his estimation, he alone deserved the name of a man who performed actions worthy of being held in everlasting remembrance.[‡]

The same greatness of mind led him to overlook the personal affronts and indignities that were offered to him in

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[*] Coke's Detection, iii. 111. [†] Cunningham, i. 37. [‡] Ibid, 38.

England, and to sacrifice his private resentments to the public welfare. The impartiality with which he administered the government, and his desire to conciliate all parties, occasioned those heterogeneous mixtures of public men, which often embarrassed his affairs; but if he failed in his object, the praise of patriotism belongs rather to the monarch than to his subjects, whose genius led them to be governed by parties. With a generosity of mind that scorned to interfere with the opinions of his people, he never molested any man for an opposition to his policy. Of this forbearance, the case of Sir George Rooke furnishes a memorable instance. Being solicited to remove him from the Admiralty for his votes in the Commons, he replied, "Sir George Rooke served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the House of Commons;" an answer worthy of a patriot king.

It is greatly to the credit of William, that the whole of his public character was strongly identified with the cause of liberty, both civil and religious. Had his wishes been attended to, our statute-book would have been relieved from the cumbrous load of penal and disqualifying laws, founded on the true spirit of anti-christian monopoly, and as subversive of justice, as they are derogatory to the age that enacted them. But it was the misfortune of William to be thwarted by the prejudices of men, whose minds were too narrow to comprehend the legitimate objects of government, and too selfish to practise the virtue of charity. Upon a review of his character, we have just reason to conclude with De Foe, that "The memory of William must be dear to all true lovers of the English nation, on this very account, that he restored the end of governing to the means, and convinced all impartial people, that he ruled not to make himself great, but his people happy. He crushed every thing that savoured of tyranny, even by his own inclination, and recommended his government to all men by mercy, justice, liberty, and law;

and in this it may be said, without flattering that glorious prince, or in the least running out beyond what is just, and his due, that he ruled this nation *as it was never ruled before.*"*

If William had his failings, they were fewer than usually fall to the lot of persons in his high station, and recede behind the solid worth and dignity of his character. Called to the government of a nation divided in opinion, and animated by a spirit of faction; corrupted also in morals, and accustomed to political intrigue; he steered the helm with a judgment and prudence which perhaps few would have done so well. A better acquaintance with the character of the people might have forced upon him the necessity of greater firmness. The military aspect of his reign grew out of the new posture of affairs, which equally affected the other nations of Europe; his departure from the pacific system of his predecessors, was, therefore, less a matter of choice than of necessity. By calling to the throne a prince of military genius, as able as he was willing to assert the liberty and independence of nations, England escaped from the net which had been spread for her, and in the toils of which she had been rapidly falling. If William is chargeable with ambition, it was always under the guidance of a good principle, and never betrayed him into actions that were inconsistent with justice, or the rights of mankind.

The caution and reserve which he sometimes manifested, were owing as much to his knowledge of mankind as to natural disposition; for, his intercourse with the world had unfolded too many examples of falsehood and treachery, not to produce suspicion; whilst the factions of the nation had a strong tendency to excite disgust. "In common conversation," says one of our historians, "he was courteous and affable; in matters of importance, grave and reserved; and on no occasion did he sink below his dignity. In doubtful or dangerous cases he displayed wonderful quickness, alacrity, and singular benevolence; and not less address to gain the favour of other princes, and to endear himself to God and man: and such was his benignity that he seemed not either in his private capacity desirous of riches, nor in his public, ambitious of crowns to gratify his avarice, but to qualify himself the better to become an instrument of doing good."*

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* Jure Divino, B. xi. p. 16.

By the death of King William, "more mortally wounded with the pointed rage of divided parties and an ungrateful people, than by the fall from his horse,"† De Foe lost a kind friend and powerful protector. In various parts of his writings he takes occasion to cherish his memory, and to embalm his name with the affection of a faithful servant for the best of masters; whilst, in the stinging language of reproof, he reminds the nation of the baseness and ingratitude of those who had so deeply wounded him by their conduct.(E)

"Where," says he, "are the morals of the men who reproach the best king that God ever gave to these kingdoms; a name, an honest Englishman cannot mention without regard, and without blessing his Maker! If he rewarded knaves too much, or honest men too little, who are to be blamed? If kings were to know men by inspiration, not by recommendation, they were answerable, indeed, for a misapplication of their favours; and King William would have room in his character for blame in more instances than I care to mention, where his majesty gave marks of his bounty to those who have vilely flown in the face of their benefactor, and reproached the memory of the man that raised them."* "This great prince spent his strength, his time, his treasure, and, I may say, his blood to save and defend us:† but heaven, for our sins, removed him in judgment. How far the treatment he met with from the nation he came to save, and whose deliverance he finished, was admitted by heaven to be the means of his death, I desire," says he, "to forget, for their sakes who are guilty."‡

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* Cunningham, i. 255.

† Present State of Parties, p. 13.

(E) "The grief of the usage he had received, the unkind treatment he had met with from those very people that brought him hither, had sunk so deep upon his spirit, that he could never recover it; but being very weak in body and mind, and joined to a slight hurt he received by a fall from his horse, he died to the unspeakable regret of all his subjects that wished well to their country."—*Consolidator*, p. 202.

Any reflection upon the memory of a prince whom he so highly esteemed, always awakened his indignation; and the more, as the loss of so good a friend was severely felt by him in the subsequent reign. That the lapse of time did not weaken this attachment, is evident from his numerous writings. Several of his reviews are wholly occupied in the grateful task of vindicating his fame, particularly those that fell nearest to the anniversary of the Revolution; a subject that always gave inspiration to his pen. One of these eulogiums, as affording a powerful specimen of popular eloquence, and descriptive of the politics of the times, shall be here inserted; and the rather, as it will serve to exemplify the power of gratitude upon the mind of the writer.

"Wonder no more, new raptures fire my pen,
When WILLIAM's name I chance to read, and when
I search the lustre of his memory,
The best of Monarchs, and of Men to Me."§

"It may, perhaps, be thought by some people a digression too remote from my present pursuit, when I launch out into the crimes of a party; but, if I am carried into extremes when the memory of King William is touched, I am altogether careless of making an excuse; and I acknowledge myself less master of my temper in that case, than in any thing I can be touched in besides. The memory of that glorious monarch is so dear, and so valuable in the hearts of all true Protestants that have a sense both of what they escaped, and what they enjoy by his hand, that it is difficult to retain any charity for their principles that can forget the obligation. His name is a word of congratulation; and the immortal memory of King William will be a health as long as drinking healths is suffered in this part of the world.

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* Review, iv. 70.

† Ibid, iii. 154.

‡ Appeal, &c. p. 13.

§ Jure Divino, Lib. i. p. 26.

"Let the ungrateful wretch that forgets what God wrought by his hand, look back upon Popery coming in like a flood; property trampled under foot; all sorts of cruelties and butcheries in practice in Scotland, and approaching in England! Let him review the insolence of the soldiery, the inveteracy of the court-party, the tyranny, perjury, and avarice of governors; and at the foot of the account let him write, Delivered by King William. Then let him look back on the prince:—How great, how splendid, how happy, how rich, how easy, and how justly valued both by friends and enemies! He lived before in the field glorious, feared by the enemies of his country, loved by the soldiery, having a vast inheritance of his own, governor of a rich state, blessed with the best of consorts, and as far as this life could give, completely happy. Compare this with the gaudy crown we gave him. Had a visible scheme been laid with it of all the uneasinesses, dangers, crosses, disappointments and dark prospects which that prince found with it, no wise man would have taken it off the dunghill, or come out of a gaol to be master of it.

"In council, how was he betrayed; in treaty, bought and sold; in action, abandoned; in expeditions, delayed; in trusts, abused; in recommendations, imposed upon; and in expectations, deceived? How were the funds we furnished him with scandalously deficient, their time late, the end base, and the means ridiculous? How was he sent to war without armies, and his armies without pay? How was he constantly baulked and trepanned in all his measures by foolish, false, ignorant, or treacherous friends, more than by powerful enemies? How did he fight for us, and we rail at him? How did he waste his own patrimony in the expensive war he undertook in the defence of religion and liberty? And yet we murmur at him as if all the money had been given to himself. What ill language, what daring rudeness did he receive from those that durst not shew their faces with him, or venture like him in a country that indeed he was no way in debt to? Who can look back on these things without regret, when they hear insulting devils affront the memory of a man that lived but for them; and for thirteen years lived in torture under their constant murmurs and ungrateful reproaches! That were saved by him, and then like a snake hissed at and spat in the face of their benefactor!

"Unhappy Englishmen! Is this the man you reproach? Had he any failing but that he bare too much with the most barbarous usage in the world? Had he not the most merit and the worst treatment that ever king in England met with?

"And now, to come to a particular case, see ingratitude pursuing him beyond the grave. Not content to have given a mortal stab to all his enjoyments here, they are for carrying on the murther to his good name; in which I can see no flaw, save that he had the misfortune to find more Judas's than one to every twelve that attended him. Is a man knighted and then made a lord? Is he loaded with honours and put into places? Has he the king's ear? and does he eat his bread? Expect he shall be one of the first to fly in his face, that he shall tell you who were not requited for their extraordinary service at Londonderry; but never a word who were over-rewarded on the same occasion. Expect their own crimes laid at his door, and his injured reputation making amends for the seeming loss of their own.(F)

(F) De Foe, no doubt, alludes here to Sir John Thompson, created Lord Haversham.

" Prodigious ingratitude! Canst thou not, O man, be content to be advanced without merit, but thou must repine at them that another time have merit without reward! To such I would recommend to consider their own value, as not the least instance of the king's misfortune; how he had honest men mis-represented, and knaves mis-commended.

" Who can look back on those days without horror, when we consider even those, whom he hazarded all to defend, flying in his face, because they were not sufficiently rewarded, nor their fancied merit enough noticed: or, in plain English, because he did not give them the wealth and blood of the nation; satisfy their avarice on the one hand, and their revenge on the other! I am loth to bring to memory what I wish had never been true: but,

" Difficile est satyram non scribere."—*Juv. Lib.* i.

" I confess my blood boils at the thought of it; and I can less contain the just resentment in this, than in any thing before me. Who can hear men tell us, they helped to make him king, and were not considered for it? You helped to make him king! Pray what merit do you plead, and from whom was the debt? You helped to make him king! That is, you helped to save your country and ruin him: you helped to recover your own liberties and those of your posterity, as you ought to have been blasted from heaven if you had not; and now you claim rewards from him! I'll tell you how he rewarded you fully: he rewarded you by sacrificing his peace, his comfort, his fortune, and his country to support you. He died a thousand times in the chagrin, vexation, and perplexity he had from the unkindness and treachery of his friends, and the numberless hazards of the field against the enemy. And yet all would not satisfy a craving generation, an insatiable party, who thought all the taxes raised for the war, given, not to the nation, but to the king, and endeavoured to blot the best character in the world with the crimes of those whom they themselves recommended him to trust.

"Who could read a poem called "The Foreigners," written on purpose to insult his person, without a just indignation; wherein, not his person only, and nation, but his character and morals are insolently abused? Who can hear printed speeches reproach him with breach of faith, without just reflections on this, that he only too much favoured the wretches that abuse him?"*

The unmanly conduct of a base faction towards the departed hero of England, vented itself in the most indecent manner, before the breath was departed from his body; and afterwards in the most malignant speeches, toasts, and lampoons. These expressions of hatred did not pass unnoticed by De Foe, who, as well to shew his sense of a conduct so unnatural, as to testify his admiration for departed excellence, produced "The Mock Mourners: a Satyr, by way of Elegy on King William. By the Author of The True-Born Englishman. London: printed in the year 1702." 4to. So favorable was the reception it met with, that, in the course of a few weeks, it passed through at least five editions, consisting of several thousand copies; and in the following year it was re-printed in the Collection of his Writings, and in the body of English Poetry, collected in four volumes, under the title of "Poems on Affairs of State." In a dedication to the queen, he says, "If an extraordinary concern for the glorious memory of the late king has led the author into any excesses, he begs your Majesty would place it to the account of that just passion every honest man retains for his extraordinary merit; believing that no man can have an indifferency for the memory of King William, and at the same time have any desire for the welfare of his native country."

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* Review for March 27, 1707, vol. iv. pp. 77—79.

The poem opens with a sentiment too strongly verified by history, that nations seldom discover a proper regard for real worth, until it has departed from them;

"And then immortal monuments they raise,
To damn their former follies by their praise."

In some subsequent lines, he notices the alarm which prevailed, lest the benefits of the Revolution should be annihilated by the succession of the Pretender; an apprehension that distracted the minds of the guilty, and led them to wish their injured prince alive again.

"They dreamt of halters, gibbets, and of jails,
French armies, Popery, and Prince of Wales,
Descents, invasions, uproars in the state,
Mobs, Irish massacres, and God knows what;
Imaginary enemies appear'd,
And all they knew they merited, they fear'd."

The peaceful reflections of the dying hero, derived from a consciousness that his life had been devoted to the true interest of the people he governed, are beautifully delineated in the following lines:—

"No conscious guilt disturb'd his royal breast,
Calm as the regions of eternal rest;
Before his life went out his heaven came in,
For all was bright without and clear within;
His parting eye the gladsome regions spied,
Just so, before his dear Maria dy'd.

"His high concern for England he exprest,
England, the darling of his royal breast:
The transport of his parting soul he spent,
Her disunited parties to lament.
His wishes then supplied his want of power,
And pray'd for them, for whom he fought before."

The wisdom and clemency of his reign are faithfully expressed in the following passage:—

"He knew that titles are but empty things,
And hearts of subjects are the strength of kings;
Justice and kindness were his constant care,
He scorn'd to govern men by slavish fear;
But always reign'd by gentleness and love,
An emblem of the government above."

Could the prayers of the better part of the nation have succeeded in arresting the messenger of death, he observes,

"How strenuous then had been the sacred strife,
While the whole kneeling world had begged his life,
With all that earnestness of zeal, and more
Than ever nation begged for king before!"

But the event that occasioned such deep affliction to the friends of liberty, produced very different feelings in others. It is at all times painful to record the failings of our species, nor will a candid mind be disposed to press too severely upon such as spring from ignorance or indiscretion; but, when a base faction, under the influence of malignant feelings, departs from the decencies of life in its expression of triumph, it entails upon itself a disgrace that cannot be recorded in measured language. The Jacobites and Tories, upon this occasion, gave vent to their passions in ballads and other writings that denoted their joy:—

"Their awkward triumphs openly they sing,
Insult the ashes of their injur'd king,
Rejoice at the disasters of his crown,
And drink the horse's health that threw him down."

The meaning of this passage is explained in the histories of the times. By the death of the king, and the succession of a princess who was supposed to entertain exclusive opinions upon ecclesiastical subjects, the tolerated sects lost a powerful friend and protector; and the bigotry of the high-churchmen being awakened, they considered it a signal for the renewal of persecution. In venting their joy on the occasion, they adopted the following toast at their convivial meetings: "A health to the little gentleman dressed in velvet:" meaning the mole that occasioned the king's disaster. The horse was likewise toasted in a similar manner:

> "Illustrious steed, to whom a place is giv'n,
> Above the lion, bull, or bear in heav'n."

Another poem in which the cowardly wretches relieved their gall, was intitled "The Mourners." It was found in the public streets, and concludes with the following lines:—

> "Well then, my friends, since things you see are so,
> Let's e'en mourn on, 'twould lessen much our woe,
> Had sorrel stumbled thirteen years ago."*

These productions of the Jacobites, which were clandestinely circulated, were met by the friends of William with the indignation they deserved. Human nature has reason to blush at the thought that it is allied to a race of beings who could, in so cowardly a manner, insult the ashes of a noble and generous minded prince, who hazarded his life to redeem the nation from an iron despotism; and who, with a disinterestedness and public spirit, such as this nation had never before witnessed, devoted all the energies of his great soul to the maintenance of liberty and virtue. Well might our author say—

> "Blush, Satyr, when such crimes we must reveal."

And, "Now, let them not only blush, but tremble at the event, who have insulted his memory by canonizing in their cups the horse that threw down the king; drinking a health to the beast, less so by far than the brutes that drink it, and rejoicing in the disaster. Let such no more talk of calves-head clubs, and feasts of triumph. Nothing can match the infamy of this practice, odious both to God and man.†

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* Review, p. 320. † Ibid. vi. 367.

In the fervour of his zeal to vindicate the fame of his injured master, De Foe calls in the powers of heaven to his assistance, and marks the divine vengeance upon the impious men who dared to jest with the misfortunes of a prince whom he could never think of but with feelings of veneration. "Of the scandalous wretches," says he, "who have thus insulted the memory of King William, by drinking the horse's health that hurt him, I can give you an account of at least *eleven* who have had their brains dashed out, or their necks broken by falls from their horses; besides some that have been very much hurt, but have had time spared to them for repentance. Can we have a greater testimony of the abhorred wickedness of the thing? Has heaven, in any age, given a greater witness to the honour or memory of any man in the world? You may read plainly how dear this name is to the Divine Power, who concerns his justice so remarkably to retaliate the injuries done it; that the party who espouse those people may read their crime in their punishment."* However unphilosophical this sentiment may appear in the present day, it was approved by the piety of the times, and does no discredit to the feelings of the writer.

The benefits that resulted from the government of William, the mildness of his character, and the ungrateful returns he met with, are ably depicted by De Foe in the following passage, with which we shall wind up the history of his reign.

"An Englishman cannot look around him a day in his life, but he is as necessarily brought to a remembrance of King William, I had almost said, as he is of a governing providence in the world: for, by him, as the instrument, has Providence brought to pass for us all the wonders of the last age: an age filled with mighty events, swelled with the glorious revolution of kingdoms, and the mighty downfall of hell's monstrous schemes, laid deep, and politically directed at the interest and kingdom of Christ Jesus in the world. William was the thunderbolt that split all the mighty work, that blew up the foundation of the devil's kingdom in Europe; that shook the vast fabric, and left it so weak, that even a woman is thought sufficient by heaven to finish its destruction.

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* Review, vi. 368.

"Can an Englishman go to bed, or rise up, without blessing the very name of King William? His perils have been our safety, his labours our ease, his cares our comfort, his continued harassing and fatigue our continued calm and tranquillity. When you sit down to eat, why have you not soldiers quartered in your houses, to command your servants and insult your tables? 'Tis because King William subjected the military to the civil authority, and made the sword of justice triumph over the sword of war. When you lie down at night, why do you not bolt and bar your chamber, to defend the chastity of your wives and daughters from the ungoverned lust of raging mercenaries? 'Tis because King William restored the sovereignty and dominion of the laws, and made the red-coat world servants to those that paid them. When you receive your rents, why are not arbitrary defalcations made upon your tenants, arbitrary imposts laid upon your commerce, and oppressive taxes levied upon your estates, to support the tyranny that demands them, and your bondage made strong at your own expense? 'Tis because King William re-established the essential security of your properties, and put you into that happy condition, which few nations enjoy, of calling your souls your own. How came you by a Parliament, to balance between the governed and the governing, but upon King William's exalting liberty upon the ruin of oppression? How came you ever to have power to abuse your deliverer, but by the very deliverance he wrought for you? He gave you that liberty you afterwards took to insult him, and supported you in those very privileges you ungratefully bullied him with.

You could not, with all your brutish skill, provoke him to be a tyrant. He abhorred oppression, and scorned to practice it; and he that had fire enough to assault all your oppressors, and a hand strong enough to wrestle with an established and confirmed tyrant, had yet meekness enough to let you oppress him, because he would not oppress you, and saw you ungrateful enough to oppose, not your benefactor only, but your own felicity for his sake.

"Yet, to the last, he fought for you against foreign tyranny, and kept his foot upon the neck of your secret usurpers. He trod upon your enemies, even though you trod upon him; and those that courted him at home to resent your ingratitude, received his constant frown. This was the man that lived for you, and yet died for you; and hearken to it with regret, and reproach yourselves with it whilst you live, he died murthered by your unkindness."*

Towards the latter end of this reign, De Foe took up his abode at Hackney, and resided there several years. Here some of his children were born and buried. In the parish register is the following entry: "Sophia, daughter to Daniel De Foe, by Mary his wife, was baptized December 24, 1701." Martha De Foe, a child, was carried out of the parish to be buried in 1707.†

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* Review for Nov. 5, 1707, vol. vi. pp. 365, 6.

† Lysons's Environs of London, ii. 502.

END OF VOL. I.

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